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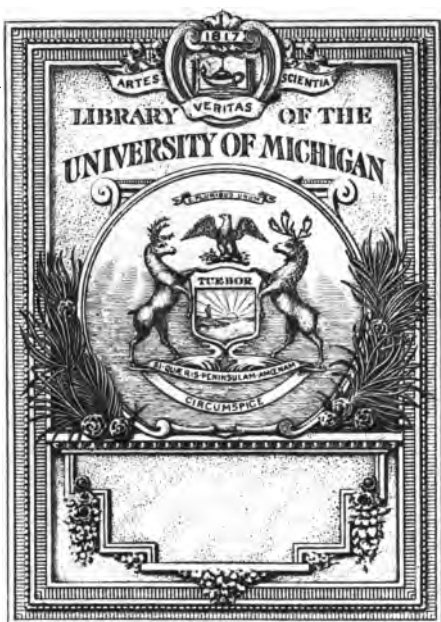
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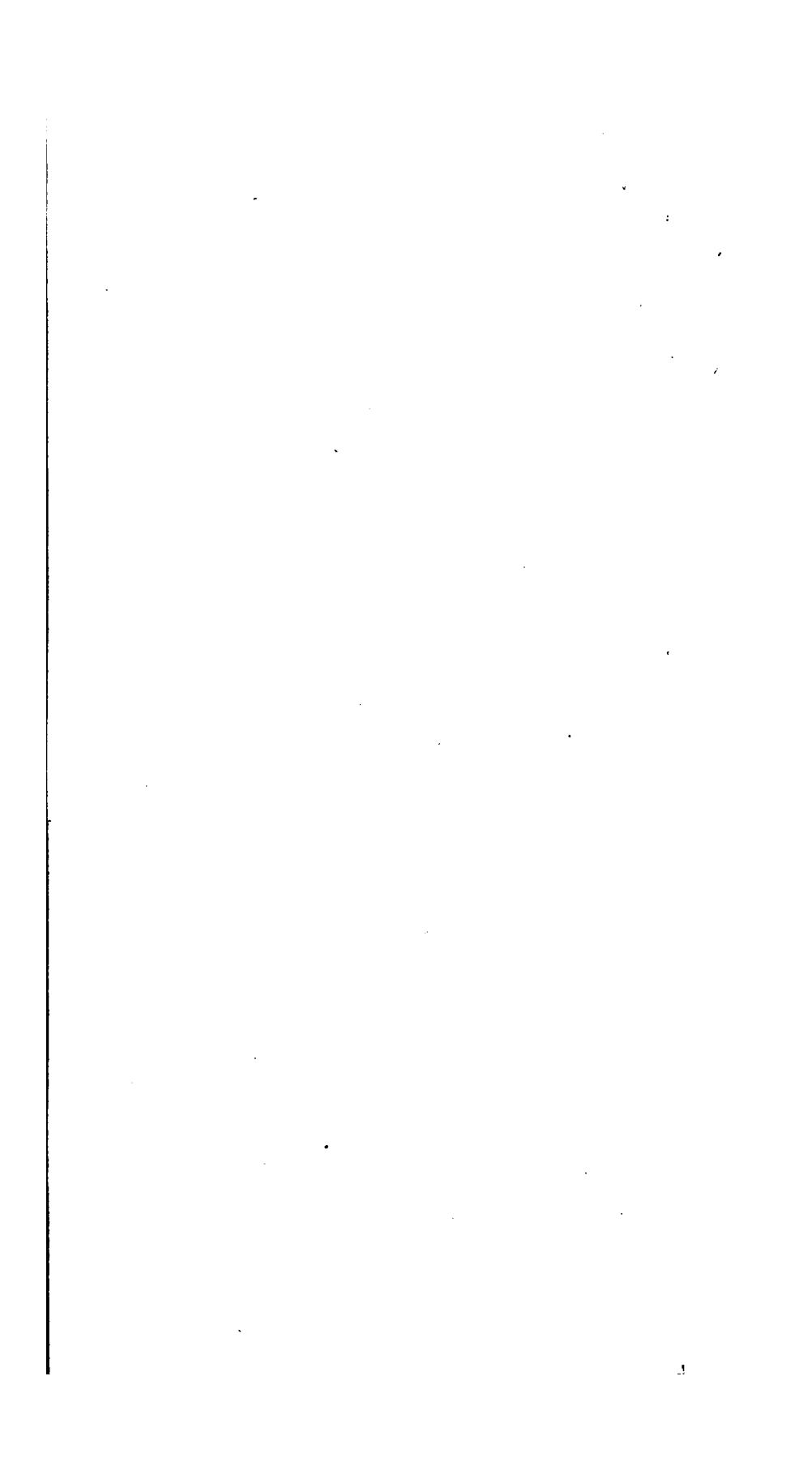
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THOUGHTS

ON THE

GREEK REVOLUTION.

BY

CHARLES BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, Esq.

La sagesse n'est que la mesure.—MAD. DE STAEL.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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PREFACE.

IMPATIENT to protest against doctrines which I only met with a fortnight since in Mr. Hughes's "Appeal" and "War in Greece," I have hastened to the goal without prancing about in periods; anxious to write fast rather than well, and to procure justice for the cause, not celebrity for the advocate of Greece. I have no time for an operation of such length as shortening my statement, or even for softening down what may offend those, who have been just confirmed in making religion an engine of persecution, by seeing the Catholic peers again exiled from their birthright, because they will not purchase the boon of justice by apostacy. If I have alluded to sponging

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those short commons of spiritual food, or, (since God sends meat * * * * *) of spiritual cooks, on which the Irish episcopalians contrive to keep their souls alive ; or have fancied the spoliation worse than the conversion of heretics, and an overfed hierarchy as bad as a sanitary inquisition ; or have neglected to forget, that of the fugitive priests whom England charitably fed, some had been prelates wealthier and mightier than even “ the primate of all Ireland ;” I hope that these interwoven heresies will not prejudice the English jury against my clients. A man linked with no party, and privileged by insignificance to vacillate, may outgrow such morbid sentiments, but I am too new to authorship to have yet learned to hide them. An Englishman, and a protestant, may surely blame a system which disgraces England, and almost desecrates Christianity, without denying the worth of many individual Irish clergymen, or assailing the English church, whose debtor and creditor accompt to the public good shows a balance in its favour ; and which clinging to

the fabric of the state, and growing out of the foundations of property, cannot be roughly handled without shaking both. But there are alteratives, which might calm the inflammation of Ireland; and a reform, which would not amount to revolution.

I have spoken contemptuously of Austria, for I had to consider her dealings with foreigners, which are usually tyrannical and mean; had I reviewed her domestic policy, I should have said, that exacting from her subjects a more than filial obedience, she treats them with almost parental mildness; and that her system of suffocating intellect as an enemy, and treating men like children, may suit a population better fed than taught, though it irritates those restless and sensitive Italians, who are suffering so severely for the crime of not being a homogeneous impenetrable mass.

I should have been more diffident in passing judgments, if I had originally meant to prefix to these pages a name, which forms their sole chance of attracting attention.

If any critical Ibis, whose beak checks the plague of literary serpents, should pierce this minute ephemeral production, though I may shrink from that sensitiveness, which the earliest and deepest trials of sensibility cannot raise us *quite* above, I shall never repent trying to redeem the character of England, and to promote the interests of Greece.

Portugal-street,
August 3, 1822.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

GREEK REVOLUTION.

WHEN I heard that a writer of some eminence had taken up the cause of the Greeks, and that an animated and eloquent Pamphlet had appeared from the pen of Mr. Hughes, I fondly thought that their case was at length fairly laid before the English nation.

Having read Mr. Hughes's appeal, I feel dissatisfied with pleadings so impassioned and partial, and regret that his name should confirm, and his language embellish, the prevailing error, that the present struggle is an attempt to drive the Turks out of Europe. Mr. Hughes not only assumes this, but he assumes, that it is an easy and desirable opera-

tion. He should consider what it is to expatriate millions of our fellow-creatures, with women and children, who, though innocent of all guilt, must be involved in the general sentence? He should remember that the scenes, which he has so eloquently described, occur only where the two populations are interwoven; that Rumelia is inhabited chiefly by Turks, and that "the Aga* or Turkish country gentleman," is not every where a faithful original of "The Saracen's Head," for which he has made him sit? but that in the paroxysms of national anarchy, the innocent and helpless suffer, while the able and ferocious fatten on the spoil. For, even in the French Revolution, when men are generally allowed to have approached nearer to the nature of dæmons, than at any other period in the history of the world, it was the guilt of a portion only which involved the mass of the nation in such misery.

He should reflect, that it is no such easy task to root up an enormous population, and re-plant it in another quarter of the world; and that his colossus of clay could scarcely be lifted up by Minerva, and quietly set down in Anadoli. And if it cannot be done quietly, how will he effect it? Would

* *Vide* Lord Byron.

he have the horrors of Navarin, Tripolizza, and Yanina *a thousand fold* multiplied? For the warfare of two armed populations is far more dreadful than the regulated destruction of stipendiary armies; and the soldier, who is paid to kill his fellow-creatures, at twelve kreutzers, or at thirteen pence a day, is the *least* terrible of belligerent animals.

But Mr. Hughes not only approves of this sweeping clause, this vast cathartic for a diseased country; he holds that all European nations, and we in particular, are bound to assist in administering the dose: "I do not hesitate to affirm, that the atrocities committed by the Infidels against their Christian subjects, ought to put them under the ban of the European confederation." The Allied Powers, during the worst scenes of the French Revolution, never pretended to drive the French out of France, because their crimes put them under the ban of Europe; the tendency of their doctrines and conduct to revolutionize other governments, was the pretext for war; and, until this result was apprehended, they were suffered to indulge their propensity to noyades and fusillades, and to enjoy their mechanical discoveries of the guillotine and the soupape in all peace and quiet-

ness. Is Mr. Hughes then prepared to say, that the enormities of the Turkish Government will augment the disaffection of Ireland?

Suppose the Mufti, (or Mahometan " Primate of all Turkey") had, in 1649, declared by a fetfah, that the cruelties which the British conquerors, under their chief Cromwell, were committing on the Irish*, put them under the ban of all Islamism, and that Mahomet the IVth (1) *then* as powerful as George the IVth is *now*, ought to send a fleet of Caravels and an army of Janizzaries, not merely to assist in obtaining for the Irish what has been subsequently granted them, but to drive the savage Normans, who, six centuries before, had occupied the Saxon kingdom of England, back into Normandy—How would Mr. Hughes, if writing the history of that period, speak of that Mufti's fetfah? and does he not fear lest some future Columbian Gibbon should say of his pamphlet and proposal: " of the Greeks foolishness," or, if Syntax be an author then read,

" Eloquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum ?"

* " He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and indiscriminately butcher'd men, women, and children ; so that only one escaped the dreadful carnage to give an account of the tragic scene."

GOLDSMITH, vol. iv. p. 322.

There is no reasoning so fair as *argumentum ad nationem*, no rule so infallible as, "Do as you would be done by."

Mr. Hughes says, with a generous ardour, which must not blind us to the fallacy of his logic: "Away, then, with flimsy, jesuitical pretexts. What Christian nation can, what nation would, plead an alliance offensive or defensive with the Sultan? It is sufficiently disgraceful to have formed any tie or convention with tyrants nurtured in ignorance and hostility to our faith, slaves to eunuchs and other vile ministers of a seraglio, who commit open outrages and insults upon the very ambassadors of European states." The "flimsy jesuitical pretext" which we should really guard against, is that famous sophism, "*Fides cum hereticis non est servanda*;" a doctrine which will hardly be recognised now, though it might alleviate our financial distress, by settling at once the claims of the Jewish stockholders. Of all the odd charges which are every day brought against ministers, this is the strangest. It seems that they have been guilty of making treaties of commerce with people of a different religion from ourselves; that they have aggravated this first fault

by observing them; and that they can now atone for such multiplied guilt only by breaking them.

With regard to the next charge against the Turks, I cannot see what we have to do with the qualifications or disqualifications which they think necessary in a cabinet minister, any more than they have with our tests and oaths of supremacy; though, when we thus learn, that the virtue of a Turkish Chancellor of the Exchequer is owing to necessity rather than choice, we may recall with augmented pride the memory of an immaculate minister. (2.)

For the last charge, the great error of Turkish policy has been prostituting the immunities of an ambassador, and letting every insignificant consular agent, Greek or Frank, not only defy the laws of the whole Ottoman empire, but privilege any number of its subjects.

I cannot think that Mr. Hughes is aware of the unavoidable deduction from what he has written in the enthusiasm of the moment; or that, as an English politician and a Protestant divine, he is prepared to pronounce all treaties with Mahometan potentates void. Would he send off circulars from the Foreign Office to recall our agents in Persia, Africa,

and India, and orders from the Admiralty to fit out ships at Portsmouth against all kings "nurtured in ignorance and hostility to our faith?" Would he copy the very words of his prayer book into the letters of marque, and decree lawful prize against all "Jews, Turks, Heretics, and Infidels," whom he seems more disposed to exterminate than to pray for?

I like the old English proverbs, "fair play is a jewel," and "give the devil his due." I would not withhold it even from a Turk, and therefore I think Mr. Hughes's way of inserting traits of individual ferocity ill calculated to give the English public a fair view of the case. It is a mode of appeal equally available and equally inconclusive on both sides. I object to a sentence of outlawry against the Turks, on account of the destruction of Joannina, as much as I should to one against the Greeks for the scenes of Tripolizza and Navarin. I am more anxious to soften the minds of my countrymen towards the Greeks, than to inflame them against the Turks. Mr. Hughes's pamphlet does him great honour as a writer, but he does not want it, for he has already merited and obtained a high literary reputation: it will do great harm to the Greek cause, which has been sufficiently injured in

this country by the misrepresentations of its advocates.

This wildscheme, of atonce driving the Turks from Europe, had been before inculcated with equal vehemence by the author of " War in Greece," a work of whose technical merits I am not qualified to speak, but whose spirited and vigorous language is no less calculated to mislead, than Mr. Hughes's beautiful and finished periods ; for, it is no small aggravation of the mischievous tendency of these two addresses, that they are both in their several ways remarkably well written. This author is more decisive than Mr. Hughes in his sentiments. He says : " The European cabinets have however a simple and just course to steer, it is *with conjoint and equal forces, to drive the Turks out of Europe ;* giving to Greece a sovereign and a constitution, and then *evacuating the country.*" Simple enough ! though I apprehend that the country will have been sufficiently evacuated by the effects of the first part of this remedy. Without saying a word about the paramount duty of sovereigns towards their own subjects, and considering only the practicability of the proposed measure, I am surprised that such disinterested destruction of the Turks should be

contemplated by an author, whose opinion of the necessary selfishness of all governments is so strong, that he says, only a few pages before : “ Had not the loss of three hundred thousand of the best French troops taught England that she could not play the same game, the crowns of Spain and Portugal would probably have been added to that of Great Britain, under as plausible pretexts as are used in the appropriation of the territories of Indian legitimate sovereigns. I do not find fault with the practice, I only mean to say that such are the principles on which nations generally act.” I am sorry that any Englishman should think his government so wicked, his countrymen so foolish, or his sovereign so unlimited, as to give a moment's plausibility to such a wild notion ; but I am glad that he has administered this previous corrective to his new medicine of a constitution which Foreigners are to prescribe. How efficacious soever this fashionable specific for all national disorders may be, the best ingredients in a constitution will be inoperative, unless it is the choice of the people upon whom it must act. While constitutions, like plants, thrive or wither according to the scite and soil into which they are transplanted, such experimental gardening must be both unsafe and

uncertain; and earls of Sparta and Thebes, with county members for Messenia and Argolis, might be grafted on Greece, without producing the English fruitage of liberty.

I fear, nothing resembling a crusade will succeed in this age, when ridicule ensures failure, and when Peter the Hermit would be classed with our radical and methodistical mountebanks, or be possibly set in the stocks. Adventure, once clothed in danger, and linked with Enterprise, and courted by gallant spirits, counts among her knights errant only the couriers of Rothschild or Baring; and now that Commerce boasts no more the romance and gallantry of war, and war, fed with loans, is conducted by all the rules of arithmetic, the most glorious successes of the Greeks would make consols fluctuate more than sympathies. Nay, though the crusades of old, by banishing and impoverishing both kings and nobles, raised the people, and sowed the seeds of freedom throughout Europe, promoted trade, augmented knowledge, contributed to make one family of many nations, and, like the study of alchemy, produced a host of unsought and unexpected advantages, yet this calculating generation can scarce pardon their wild romance. I do not presume to blame the nineteenth

century ; for, though virtue must in general be confined to domestic life, and the existence of nations be chequered with wars and massacres, there is, perhaps, just now rather less national folly and guilt in the world than usual.

I regret that the author of "War in Greece" should have suggested young Napoleon as a sovereign for the Greeks. The mere idea is calculated to damp the benevolence of the English public towards them ; and the realization of it would probably excite the jealousy of Europe, and involve them in future wars.

The only reason for young Napoleon's being so frequently recommended to insurgent nations, who are supposed to be looking out for a sovereign, is the assumed probability of his resembling his father ; but it is a strange infatuation to desire again the infliction of a conqueror ; a second edition of one, who sinned more in leaving undone so much practicable good, than even in effecting so much positive evil. Europe has had quite enough of the Buonaparte breed, whether considered as a dynasty of usurpers, a gang of plunderers, or a club of upstarts ; and I hope the cant about sparing the fallen, and "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*," will never level the immovable boundaries of right.

and wrong, shield a character which is historical property as a warning rather than a model, or make us more indulgent to a tyrant on account of his extraordinary talents, than to a tiger in favour of his enormous teeth. The choice of young Napoleon, as the sovereign of Greece, is as little contemplated by the Greeks, and altogether as improbable as it is undesirable. France will continue to waste her diplomattick address in vain endeavours to procure him the ecclesiastical tonsure, and the Emperor of Austria will keep him, through justifiable fear of so powerful a neighbour, as a hand-grenade which he may throw at will among her restless and divided population.

When these ravings, about turning the Turks out of Europe, furnished a silly newspaper with a great part of the nonsense it kneads up for the daily consumption of the public, and while the Greek cause (3.) was only made a scoop for spattering printer's ink over a rival; even this, to one who really wished the Greeks to succeed in their reasonable attempt, was sufficiently provoking. When such hallucinations found their way into the House of Commons, which, whether or not, as some say, it has ceased to pacify the people, and make them believe they tax themselves, is at least

a speaking trumpet, through which the most insignificant proser may make himself heard over the whole world—when the advocates of Greece played into the hands of men, whose long possession of power has soothed them into an official temper, and sharpened them into an official tact, which baffles the superior speaking but captious and exaggerated tone of their opponents, of men, whose regimented and salaried mass opposes an unyielding column to the guerilla attacks of unpaid and often unarmed volunteers—it was still worse.

But now, that this mischievous nonsense is brought forward with the influence of Mr. Hughes's name as a traveller, and the seduction of his language as a writer; while the Greeks as yet are only misrepresented and not represented in England, I beg to protest against the doctrine before it spreads, and to disown, in the name of the Greeks, projects which are as deserving of reprobation, as they are liable to ridicule.

Little intending ever to venture on the stormy sea of printers' ink, I had still less idea that I should wield a pen for Greece, and thus:

“ Presume to lay my hand upon the ark.

“ Of her magnificent and awful cause.”

But all our mighty ones are silent; scarce a tongue, or a pen is moved, little is said, and that little ill calculated to conciliate public opinion. I shall be satisfied if this effort of an unknown and unfledged writer stings any older and abler head into a sense of shame for leaving such a cause to be defended by such puny hands.

I trust we do not boast in vain a Lansdown, a Grey, a Holland, a Brougham, a Mackintosh, and a Tierney; men who have ever been ready to advocate the cause of sufferers, without that nice and jealous investigation into their quantum of desert, which ultimately hardens every heart, and is but an excuse for selfishness. I am aware they can but little influence the measures of Government; for, like every moderate party, they are as weak as respectable, in a country divided between Tories and Reformers, between those who would support things as they are at any rate, and those who would change them at every risk. But it is the apathy of the people, not the conduct of the ministry, that I blame; if the Opposition cannot direct that taxing and funding piece of mechanism which we call Government, it may inform and rouse the English public; for the House of Commons still retains what it has not yet deserved to

forfeit, great influence over the opinions of the nation. Though Parliament may be more influenced by than influencing the existing ministry, that little oblong room, utilized as it is by the blessed accident of its gallery and the illegal toleration of its occupiers, is the sensorium of the universe, and the head-quarters of opinion. If it is a safety valve through which national discontent escapes, and which has not yet been choked by all the smoke and vapour perpetually rolling through it, it is, like Jupiter's barrel, a receptacle for the petitions of the whole world; it is the tribunal of final resort for nations, the sanctuary of thought, the asylum of the persecuted, where the armed tranquillizers of discontented states cannot penetrate, and where the mazes of diplomacy cease at length to shield the oppressor, or tire down the oppressed. Will they not wield a weapon, which half a century's majorities have not deprived them of?

It is by thus advocating with indiscriminate generosity the cause of all who suffered, that they have often extorted the applause even of those to whom they appear'd captiously, and almost factiously, to embarrass a Government which they could not guide. But public opinion has not

yet struck the balance in their favour, and there never was a happier occasion for adding another item to their accompt, than is here presented by a cause which, like the abolition of African slavery, need not incur the imputation of party-feeling or interest, but might be advocated on the purest grounds of universal philanthropy.

When a subscription for the relief of the Greeks, (a fair criterion of the interest which they had excited), was proposed last Christmas, the idea was received not only with indifference but ridicule, and public opinion does not seem materially to have warm'd or softened towards them since. This appears difficult to account for; as their cause is at least interesting, and might have attracted attention if it did not command applause. Many, especially our French neighbours, think we are no longer alive to pity, nor enthusiastic for freedom; yet 250,000*l.* bestowed on the Irish may prove that we can feel as warmly as when we poured the stream of charity from the Tagus to the Mosqua, and the general anxiety to add even further security to the edifice of British freedom, shows that we are no less attached to the cause of liberty than our fathers were I think that this

apathy, which disgraces us in the eyes of foreigners, proceeds rather from the following six causes:—

- 1st, A bad opinion of the Greeks.
- 2d, The language of their partisans.
- 3d, An erroneous view of the interest of England, and
- 4th, Of that of Turkey.
- 5th, A misconception of the objects of the Greeks.
- 6th, A confusion of their cause with that of the Transdanubian Principalities.

I shall endeavour in this hasty address to remove the prejudice which these six causes have combined to excite.

England cannot afford Greece the active assistance of her arms, but her approbation or blame are no slight weights to throw into the scale; this nation has long been the Areopagus of mankind, and the career of England, during the last quarter of a century, has raised yet higher her pre-eminence and her responsibility; for, without discussing the original necessity of our great struggle, the manner in which it was conducted, or the use which has been made of its results, those only who are blinded by early prejudice, or irritated by unsuccessful opposition, can deny that it has added to our national consequence. Let us not now for the

first time incur the heavy charge of misleading the opinion of our species. Since taking up arms against the Greeks was as much out of the question as arming in their favour, we have already sided as actively as we could against them, by that sullen silence which, in a nation enjoying and using a perfect immunity to speak and print, is tantamount to condemnation. The public is bound at least to listen to a statement of their case, before it is irrevocably stamped, or rather branded, with the stigma of our blame. Though my residence in Greece has added to the interest which the early studies of an Englishman create for all that bears her name, I am induced to advocate her cause more from anxiety to remove this obloquy from England, than from grief even at the sufferings of Greece.

I shall begin by examining how far *our bad opinion of the Greeks* is justified by what we know of their past and present state; for the newspapers, hostile to their cause, contend that they do not deserve assistance. This charge divides itself into two heads; 1st, Their character before (4) and 2dly, Their conduct since, the commencement of the struggle.

When the present revolution broke out, the

Greeks had been for almost three centuries under a government, which, though I am not prepared to call it the most cruel, is certainly the most pernicious that ever afflicted a people; and they peculiarly exemplified the usual consequences of such a state. The national character, already debased under the Eastern empire and the subsequent tyranny of Venice, sunk lower still. The total insecurity of property paralyzed industry and enterprise; while habitual tyranny produced deceit. The difficulty of printing confined literature to a comparatively small portion of the population; and the Greeks were, upon the whole, as far below their Western as they were above their Eastern neighbours. In England, however, we under-rated them, from causes which threw no discredit on either them or us. Our acquaintance was principally founded on the reports of travellers, who, excluded from most parts of Europe, saw them in precisely the most unfavourable point of view; in their own country, either cowed or corrupted by their Turkish masters, grovelling in the provinces, or caballing in the capital. There were very few Greeks resident in England; for, besides the difficulties thrown in their way by the Levant Company, they, like the Jews, preferred countries in which

there was little industry or enterprise to compete with and contract their own. (5)

Still I do not hesitate to assert, that there were, not indeed in Greece, where a Greek could be neither rich, nor learned, nor otherwise eminent with impunity, but of the Greek nation in Italy and Germany, more men of enterprise and information, than there were in Portugal during any period of that romantic and persevering attachment, which induced John Bull to keep her like a little worthless mistress, and to sacrifice to her interest the custom of 26,000,000 of Frenchmen; more than there were at the precise moment when his heart was softened, and his purse opened by the great Lisbon earthquake; more than there were, when almost yesterday he fought for her, before her sons had been made good soldiers by Marshal Beresford, or tolerable citizens by their late revolution. There was, moreover, this material difference between the two nations: there existed no apparent excuse for the degradation of Portugal; she was protected by England, and unmolested by foreigners; she had the port of Lisbon for commerce, and the university of Coimbra for literature, and she did little in trade, and less in letters; she had printing-presses on the spot, and she neither pro-

daced original works of talent, nor translations of the slightest utility. The Greeks, long, before their present resurrection, had shewn great commercial enterprise; and an insatiate thirst for knowledge, under peculiar disadvantages; while they crowded the universities of Germany (6) and Italy, they had established many primary schools throughout the whole of Greece, and had printed in foreign countries translations of most of the European works of eminent utility. They had fertilized the plains of Hungary and the Crimea by their industry, and peopled the expanse of the Levant with their sails. Individuals of their nation filled, with honour to themselves and to their country, high military and diplomattick offices in the courts of France, Russia, and Austria, (7) and several Greek professors occupied chairs in Italy, (8) . . . In Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, where the Greeks enjoyed a precarious municipal independence, where they received no encouragement but oblivion, and owed their purchased impunity of exertion, not to the benevolence, but the combined avarice and indolence of the Sublime Porte, the mere temporary removal of the dead weight of despotism had enabled the elasticity of Grecian industry and enterprise to rise from the

prostration of ages. These barren rocks possessed numerous fleets and an extensive trade, while the continental defenceless city of Aivali was adorned by a college of three hundred students, and several magnificent hospitals; a lazaretto, the great *desideratum* in Turkey, with other works of utility, was about to be built, when the present revolution broke out, and this city was burnt by the Turks, those of its 45,000 inhabitants, who escaped from slaughter, dispersing throughout Greece, where, unless relieved by the hand of foreign charity, they will probably sink under the more gradual process of famine. The three islands are as yet untouched, and crowded with the remnant of those fugitive women and children, whom they at first received, (9) and with whom they are sharing their last morsel, they still remain examples of what the Greeks can be made, by a momentary relaxation of Turkish tyranny.

No where has an enslaved press treated the Grecian cause with more injustice and contempt than at Vienna. Austria, wearied perhaps by the monotony of paralyzing states once industrious and powerful, palled with unresisted destruction, recently indulged the whim of creating prosperity, and chose the city of Trieste in Istria for the scene

of so *un-Austrian* an experiment ; where, if this be an unavoidable evil to which she reluctantly submits in the more congenial pursuit of ruining Venice, she has at least the consolation of knowing that her policy is debased by the least possible alloy of good, since the decay of Venice proceeds far more rapidly than the growth of Trieste. Now, in this favoured spot, the Greeks, these barbarous and reviled Greeks, are by far the most conspicuous merchants, (10) and more than divide the merit of creating Trieste, though they cannot dispute with Austria that of destroying Venice. I have no doubt that, previous to the destruction of " the sacred band" of 500 youths, (11) on whom the future literary eminence of Greece mainly rested, she possessed, not on her soil, yet under her name, *more* intelligent and cultivated men than (12) are to be found on the whole area of Austria's territories, from the Sered to the Inn, and from the Save to the Vistula ; (13) for I do not include her kingly provinces of Lombardy and Piedmont, Rome and Naples ; these she has not held long enough to quench entirely the glowing ashes of science and literature ; besides, though she may curse them with the Austrian sway, she cannot brand them with the Austrian name. I shall scarcely be ac-

cused of blameable enthusiasm for Greece, since I make the literature of Greece, and that of Austria, the objects of a serious comparison; for the town of Geneva, scarcely larger than Southampton, has alone produced more eminent writers than the whole Austrian hereditary dominions; whose productions "*en fait de grands hommes*" have been confined to field-m Marshals and chamberlains.

If the Greeks were so respectable and prosperous, it will be asked, why did they rebel? The present revolution *may* have been premature; they would *perhaps* have acted more wisely, though less gallantly, if they had bowed their necks a little longer to the yoke; but the occasion was tempting; and, if Russia repeats the desertion of 1772, we shall be warranted in suspecting her of having practised the same shameful seduction. Besides, these four bright points of insulated prosperity, only aggravated by contrast the sufferings of the rest of Greece, and threw over that unhappy country just light enough to make the *general desolation*, "*darkness visible*." It was even uncertain whether the Turks had really pardon'd industry and wealth, or whether they were only suffering these early fruits of partial liberty to ripen thoroughly for confis-

cation. I am far from eulogizing the Greeks ; they are a people degraded and demoralized by a long course of misgovernment ; but it is libelling human nature, to suppose any nation innately and incurably vicious, as much as it is outraging human feeling, to hold those only worthy of compassion, who deserve esteem. If the evil of degradation lies upon them, the guilt of it rests with their oppressors. It is but poor sophistry, to convert the consequences of suffering into charges against the sufferer, or the results of tyranny into an apology for the tyrant ; for it is a maxim no less of universal justice than of English law, that no man is entitled to profit by his own wrong. Besides, the argument proves too much ; for, according to such reasoners, the Turks should be bound by treaty to increase their tyranny and the consequent demoralization of their victims tenfold, and there would then be ten times as much reason for the Turks continuing to torment, and the Greeks to suffer. It is arguing in a vicious circle, to contend that nations are not to be deliver'd from a bad government, till they have shewn themselves worthy of a better ; it ensures immortality to oppression ; for the history of the world does not produce an instance of a people being reform'd by tyranny.

I will not quote the old instances of republican, imperial, and papal Rome, or Greece herself while free, or when under the successive tyrannies of Byzantine sophists, and Tartarian savages; but I will appeal to what is before our eyes. Does any reasonable being suppose, that a man born in Galway is necessarily more ferocious than if he had been born in East Lothian? That God created one for a civilized, and the other for a barbarous, population, or that nature is responsible for the difference between the two counties? Does any one imagine, that if we had saddled the Presbyterian population of Scotland with such a burthen of Protestant episcopacy, as we inflicted upon the conquered Irish, they would be now all good humour and meekness? That if the Scotch Episcopalians had 2-11ths of the land, and 1-10th of the produce of the entire country, to keep them in archbishops, bishops, deans, &c. &c., the Scotch would be a contented people? That, if the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland were, as a body, unprovided for, disowned, and almost proscribed, they would be deeply smitten with the love of church and state? Among the many reasons given for doing nothing, or doing only nothings for Ireland, has any one yet alleged her inferiority in civilization? On the

contrary, though Milan or Mantua are still thought too barbarous to have deputies, Connamara, twenty years ago, obtained a virtual extension of the elective franchise, by those leaseholds, which thus anticipated the most obnoxious theories of reform.

To those who argue *against* Greece from what she is, and object to arguing *for* her from what she might be, I again say, look at Ireland and Scotland, and *there* see how justly a government is responsible for the moral condition of the people. (14) Successive sultans have effected in Greece what a series of parliaments, by that legislative omnipotence which can tax not only the unrepresented but the unborn, have done in Ireland (15); they have gained a complete victory over nature, though she struggled to resist the doom of misery with rebellious productiveness of soil and climate. Think what Scotland would *now* be, if we had made the almost hostile discrepancy of her church discipline, or her attachment to the house of Stuart, an excuse for governing her *à l'Irlandaise*; think what Ireland would *now* be, if we had availed ourselves of the similarity between the Roman Catholic and the English hierarchies to extend a real impunity, the equality of advantages, not merely the relaxation of penalties, to conscientious error; and then

judge whether Greece would be improved by liberty.

But granting for a moment that the Greeks are irreclaimable—is compassion a sort of mental quicksilver to mark the mind's graduated scale of praise and blame, and must we have a freezing point for our compassion? I do not call upon my countrymen to relieve the Greeks, because they are unblemished patriots, but because they are suffering fellow-creatures. I am not going to invoke the shades of Solon and Socrates, but I think that those, who feel so deeply the beauty of a tragic chorus, may feel a little the misery of an expatriated, wandering, starving, slaughtered people; that men, who have devoted the fairest years of life to the dissection of words because 2000 years ago they were spoken by Grecian lips, may give a moment's attention to Grecian suffering; that colleges, which have spent hundreds in lexicons, may bestow a trifling mite on men, women, and children, who, besides the interest of speaking Greek, have that of writhing under wounds and hunger. And shall I again be told that they have no claims upon us? They have many claims; we are men, and they are suffering; we are Christians, and they suffer from the enemies of our faith; we are Englishmen, and they suffer in

the pursuit of freedom. There are these, there are a thousand other reasons, why *we* should extend, and *they* receive, relief.

I COME now to a part of my subject from which I shrink ; *The Conduct of the Insurgent Greeks.*

God forbid that I should become the apologist of such enormities as have disgraced the Grecian arms. If they had not occurred, I should be now imploring attention, not to their sufferings, but to their unshaded heroism. I shall not imitate those who asserted that a British army, a disciplined British army, would have done the same ; I shall only contend that the Greeks were stimulated by wrongs unprecedented in intensity and duration ; that the mode of warfare at first precluded all influence of the enlighten'd few over the brutal multitude ; that the cruelties which they inflicted, horrid as they are, were not equal to those which they endured ; and, lastly, that they have made some atonement for the irrevocable past by subsequent deeds of mercy (16) ; it is this alone which now induces me to advocate their cause. Six months since I would not have employed even this feeble pen in their behalf, not even after the massacre at Scio had so depressed the scale of Turkish guilt.

In considering *The previous sufferings of the Greeks*, I must confess that the tyranny of the Turks has been sometimes exaggerated by travellers; but are we therefore to treat it as ideal (17)? I wish to draw attention rather to the extent of woe which the Greeks endured, than to the degree of malevolence which animated the Turks; and I am prepared to admit that much of this evil was the natural result of such a government, was endured by Turks as well as Greeks, and originated in the supineness rather than the tyranny of the Sublime Porte. But I conceive it would be difficult to establish a heavier charge against any government, than that it does nothing, and suffers a privileged class of its subjects to do every thing.

I am far from making a pandæmonium of the Divan; I do not even believe the Turks in general to be actively cruel, but their strict fatalism renders them singularly careless of human life; and, if they rate low the existence of a Mussulman, they rate still lower that of a Rayah. Still the Greeks, who were in perpetual danger of having their houses or their heads taken from them, found but little comfort in reflecting that the Turks were conscientious predestinarians; nor, when an almost

invited plague was ravaging a city, were they much comforted by reflecting that the absence of all precaution which introduced it was a proof of the purest fatalism (18.) The general insecurity of property applied to Turks as well as Greeks; but the Turks, who seldom risked capital in improvements, who were more often employés than proprietors, and of whom many were privileged by being enrolled in the army, suffered comparatively little.

It would be endless to explain the mutual relations of the Turks and Greeks, but some idea may be formed from the fact that a Turk was never capitally punished for the murder of a Greek; and that the Turks, who always go armed, did not suffer this impunity to be a brutum fulmen, but frequently shot Greeks on very slight provocation. This gentleman-like nonchalance on the subject of Greek lives was imitated by the Government, and a bill, which beats the most sanguinary of our game-laws, has ere now been in the Divan "read a first time," (though not "ordered to be printed,") for "the effectual extirpation of the Greeks." Many of the annoyances to which the Greeks were subject appear trivial, but they were grievous from

their every day occurrence, as the most exquisite torture is said to be a succession of mere drops of water falling on the head. Among these Turkish drops of water may be classed the prohibition of wearing a turban, or red slippers, or bright colours. Travellers ridicule the anxiety of the Greeks to escape these privations, by purchase or office; but, to answer them in their own tone, let us suppose a case of analogy; that on the Conquest the Saxons of England were for ever forbidden on pain of death to wear coats, and that to this day, the distinction of the two races having been carefully kept up, their descendants walked about in short jackets. We at first conceive that only a boy on his admission at a public school could pine after a falling collar and skirts, and this infliction of jackets would seem an inadequate reason for three quarters of the inhabitants of England hating the other fourth; but if each jacket was an order "payable at sight to the bearer" for cuffs and kicks *ad infinitum*, we should cease to wonder at the wearers being irritated.

The language of the partisans of Greece was calculated to confirm the idea, that compassion for the

Greeks implied disapprobation of our own government; and that every man who put his name on the list of subscribers signed a species of remonstrance to the English ministry. No inculpation upon the English government is thus implied, nor can by any just reasoning be involved. Our government has done precisely what, on similar occasions, it ought always to do. International law is necessarily a question; not of feeling, but of calculation. In assisting the Spanish Patriots ministers acted more from speculation than enthusiasm; they spent money to promote the interests of England, not merely to advance the happiness of Spain. Political selfishness is an official virtue, and absolutely necessary in men who are responsible only for the happiness of their own country.

When I look back on our twenty years' warfare; on the inveterate perseverance, with which the pilot, who not only weathered, but brewed the storm, forced fees of millions into the legal and regal hands of advocates almost reluctant to plead for "the Bourbons v. Buonaparte;" when I consider how he bribed them to fight their own battles, and how bravely they bore defeat, in hopes that, on the cause being ordered for a second hearing, they would get fresh retainers; I cannot complain

of our adherence to a strict and stern neutrality in the struggle which now desolates Turkey (19). While she is our ally, her insurgent subjects must be rebels, till success has stamped them patriots. But there was, last Christmas, a reason why even individuals ought not to have sided, though but by the expression of their feelings, with the Greeks.

We were then endeavouring to mediate; and the partiality of avowed wishes might, by giving umbrage to the Divan, have weakened our influence. This mediation is at an end; and there no longer exists a single reason, moral, religious, or political, why Englishmen should not pity and relieve the Greeks.

I come now to consider *the policy* of such individual assistance.

It has been said that the regeneration of Greece is contrary to the commercial interests of England. Were this true, I trust there are but few Englishmen, who would purchase some additional tons of shipping by the extermination of an entire people. But the reasoning, which supports this hypothesis, is as false as the feeling which prompts it is detestable. Our moral duty and our political interests go hand in hand, and universal benevolence is with us the most enlightened selfishness. We are

the shopkeepers of the world, and it is our interest, that our customers, the whole human race, should be as wealthy and prosperous as we can make them. Such reasoners, to be consistent, should add that the recent vassalage of Greece ensured an immense demand for our steam-engines and chronometers, and such other articles as only poor and distracted nations can afford or venture to purchase.

It is, indeed, a strange assertion for the nineteenth century, that anarchy and poverty augment the purchasing propensities or powers of a consumer. As the Greeks improve, our Levant Company will meet with more competition; but the stream of general commerce, in which Englishmen will possess the usual English advantages of superior capital and enterprise, will be greatly swelled. It is more the interest of companies that commerce should be exclusive than that it should be extensive, and their opinions should be therefore distrusted; but no absurdity is equal to supposing that a country can buy without selling to a proportionate amount.

But, confining our views to mere *common humanity*, if all that the bitterest enemies of the Greeks have asserted be true, if the Turks are embodied angels, and the Greeks incarnate devils, it would be as easy

to recall the past or to revive the dead, as to make the Greek and Turkish populations again live together. Greece on drawing the sword threw away the scabbard, and her fabled Lethe would not wash away the remembrance of all that has been endured or inflicted. We have recently seen how utterly incapable the Sultan was of protecting the Rayahs of Constantinople from the fury of their Mussulman fellow-subjects; and is he likely to possess more authority in his distant provinces, than at his palace-gates?

The *municipal independence* of Greece would be a measure of *strict justice*, for it would benefit the Porte itself. The experiment has already been partially tried, and it will not be denied that Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara contributed latterly a greater revenue to the Sultan than before. At present, every 100 piastres raised from the Greeks detract at least 1000 from the national industry, by the insecurity and irritation which they produce; and of these 100, ten may, perhaps, ultimately enter the royal coffers; thus the same change would remove at once from the Greeks 49-50ths of their burthen, and double the profits of the Sultan.

It is impossible to devise a mode of collect-

ing the revenue of a country more onerous to its inhabitants and less productive to its sovereign than the Turkish, which does not even amount to the refinement of farming out the different Pachalicks. On the death or deposition of a Pasha, his successor is appointed by dint of bribes to the Sultan, the Vizier, &c., and the money necessary for this as well as for his outfit, is borrowed of Armenians or Jews. In Turkey, money is lent *on mortgage* at from 20 to 30 per cent., and the added risk where the repayment of both principal and interest depends on the contingency of coincidences, such as the honour of the Pasha and the continuance of his life and government, advances the rate to 50 or 60 per cent. The prolongation of his office is secured by similar presents, not to the government chest, but to the government officers; and, though the tribute of each Pachalick is fixed by the amount of the capitation, yet the number of Greeks being calculated according as the Pasha is in disgrace or favour, the estimate becomes accordingly either a fine or a bonus. Hence, after the military and judicial establishments are provided for, the usurer repaid, the Vizier bribed, the Sultan pacified, and the rapacious governor fully gorged, very little re-

mains for the chest of the empire. As the property of all employés devolves on the death of the possessor to the Grand Seignior, it may be thought that the wealth of the provinces is only absorbed by the governors to be ultimately squeezed but of them by their master ; but there are so many modes of eluding this tyrannical law, by the nominal dedication of land to the support of some mosque, or the investment of money in jewels, that its general effect is merely to render land and capital unproductive.

By this change, too, the Sultan, besides augmenting his revenue, would ensure comparative tranquillity. Supposing the insulted legitimacy of the Ottoman Porte to have been gloriously vindicated, the women and children of the Greek nation to have been carried into perpetual captivity, or preserved only to eternal exile ; the men, the young, the brave, the hopeful, to have been almost all destroyed ; and the *Te Deum*, universally used on such occasions, to have been chanted “ *à la Turquie* ” under the dome of *Sancta Sophia* ; what becomes of the capitation, which the Turkish government levied upon those *Rayahs*, who are now only heaps of whitening bones ? Will not those, who are insensible to the destruction of the Greeks, as fellow-creatures and

fellow-christians, regret them as animals that, like the sheep in Wallachia, paid a head tax to the Turks? If they are indifferent to the blight of Grecian hope, will they not mourn over the disappointment of Turkish avarice? But this is not all;—the Greeks guilty of surviving will take to the sea which bathes the circumference, and the mountains which occupy the interior of their country, and, converted into pirates or banditti, will perpetuate the horrors of the present struggle, and nullify to the Turks the possession of this rich and beautiful territory.

Far from demanding the extermination of the Turks for the Greeks, I believe that this only mode of separating them would be an act of equal mercy to both. The Porte of course must have the stipulated tribute guaranteed to it, by those who guarantee the municipal independence of Greece; and as it is no more the possessor of Greece *de facto* than *de jure*, I cannot perceive either insult or injustice in such a scheme, grounded on the inability of the Sultan to keep the peace between his intermingled Mussulman and Christian subjects; and proposing on the one hand the revived prosperity of Greece, on the other the augmented revenue of Turkey. In assuming that

Greece could afford to pay a tribute higher than *the clear profit* of the Turkish treasury from her possession, I have not calculated the certain augmentation of her resources, when she is allowed to lay her series of golden eggs, instead of having what should be the nest-egg ripped from her unfeathered and lacerated bosom. I am aware that the Divan must be *compelled* to accede to such an accommodation, and that a Turkish Vizier will abolish Pachalicks with about as much readiness as an English minister would bind himself never again to choose a Kadilesker of Cashel from the ulema of Oxford (20).

Having considered the justice, I wish to say a few words on *the general expediency of the measure*. A Congress is shortly to assemble at Verona, and much is expected from the practised anatomists of the frame of Europe. I am not going to declaim on the fall of Venice and Genoa; much has been attributed to Austria and Piedmont, which is in reality owing to the natural shifting of the stream of commerce, and the previous dissolution of an empire questionably acquired, and in the instances of Dalmatia and Corsica grievously abused. Still there have been many mourners over the degradation of the two most high-born states of Europe; which had not even the credit of submitting to a gallant and

victorious enemy, but fell into the hands of receivers of stolen goods, by that truly blackguard arrangement, which combined the gigantic iniquity of national spoliation with the petty shabbiness of private pilfering.

But, not content with strangling these venerable and decrepit republics, the combined sovereigns have suffocated their childish imitators, Ragusa and Lucca. We feel most for the sufferings of the weak and helpless, and there was something in such unwieldy colossi as Russia and Austria uniting to crush Ragusa and Lucca, which suggested the idea of two giants laying their huge jolterheads together, in order to strangle a pair of babies. The allied sovereigns did a meritorious act in not only sparing Switzerland, but securing to her a perpetual neutrality, and they would gain still more credit by protecting a maritime confederation of Greek cantons, which might be a twin sister of the continental Swiss republic, and from being more out of the way would have a still better claim to perpetual neutrality. I wish this for another reason: from the manner in which this triad of sovereigns have with their great military spuds grubbed up every little plant of a republic, it really looks as if they were afraid of suffering a comparison be-

tween the monarchical and republican forms of government, and that each of these little lights, if they did not hasten to clap grenadier caps on them in the way of extinguishers, might communicate a flame to their own great empires. Now, I believe the monarchical to be an infinitely better form of government for extensive and fully-peopled countries than the republican, and that a fair trial of the two will always bring reasonable people to this result. The regal authority is so useful an invention, and kings altogether such an evident comfort, that it is foolish as well as illiberal to squash republics for fear they should look too tempting. It is besides totally fruitless: the great experiment is making in the other hemisphere, and under circumstances of most unfair advantage; for nine-tenths of the good, which we ascribe to the republican form of their governments, is owing to their population bearing a smaller ratio than ours to their productive territory. Whether or not a republic is best adapted to these vast incipient states, is a question which cannot bear upon the merits of any European Government; but I think that the sovereigns of Europe might easily, by their conduct, prove that great European states may be more prosperous than America, not in spite but

in consequence of having kings. I regret the destruction of the few républics which remained in Europe; it has given republicanism a persecuted interesting air, and by making it a forbidden fruit has only rendered it more tempting. The more enlightened the inhabitants of Europe become, warned too as they have been by the example of the French revolution, the more convinced will they be of the utility of kings, and the more rationally attached to what reason and experience prove to be best for their own interests; but they will never be frightened out of republicanism, nor bullied into loyalty, by seeing overgrown monarchies swallow little inoffensive republics; and a Greek confederation encouraged by kings would be an honourable atonement to the manes of the slain.

The experiment of municipal without political independence has been tried in Greece, in the case of the Ionian Islands, and has upon the whole, answered. A clamour has been raised in this country against General Maitland, which individually he has hardly deserved. When a little state is put under the protection of a large one, which large one is to give it a constitution, and garrison its forts with 3000 men, the little state to be all this while thoroughly independent, every

one must perceive that the word independence is "*vox et præterea nihil*," and I cannot conceive either a Russian or an Ionian silly enough to suppose, that by independence was meant the impunity of doing whatever her septinsular ladyship chose; or that John Bull would have been so romantic as to take charge of a minor, who stipulated to have her own way. I have no doubt that it has been extremely galling to the Ionians to be prevented from aiding their continental brethren, and the best and noblest feelings combined to irritate them against the restraints of their guardian; but his protection has perhaps never been so useful to them as in this very instance. *They* have all the credit of restrained heroism, and *we* all the odium of handcuffing and muzzling the generous islanders; and in the mean time they have had neither plague nor Pasha among them. The Ionians certainly enjoy at present more of the forms than the substance of a representative constitution, and, till their heads are thought strong enough for *sheer* liberty, we have served them out six-water grog, a diluted and far from inebriating draught of freedom; for General Maitland, in his medical capacity, discovers, like Sancho's Baratarian doctor, that most things, which the Ionians fancy, are exceedingly

bad for them. But, upon the whole, the Seven Islands have greatly improved under our protection; the best thing next to the substance is the shadow of freedom, and the safest preparatives for its exercise are its forms. Driving seven restive insular ponies in hand with rope harness and silk reins is no easy task; but hereafter, when the Levant is again tranquillized, ministers may select a more tender lullabying dry-nurse for these seven ricketty infant republics, than is imaged to the mind by the idea of an English lieutenant-general. A civilian suits better with the sacred and diplomatick character which the lord high commissioner of the protecting sovereign should bear, and the union of this office with that of governor of Malta, while it is far from flattering to the republic in time of peace, would be extremely inconvenient during a war.

Still it has been unfortunate that at the only point where we politically come in contact with Greece, we have been obliged to act a cautious and unpopular part, and it is therefore the more incumbent upon the people of England, to make up by sympathy and commiseration for the unfavourable impression, which the necessary coldness and almost harshness of our government has produced. Mi-

nisters have performed a painful duty ; it remains for the English public to discharge a pleasing one. There is no prescribed neutrality of feeling, and compassion at least may enlist herself in the cause of every party and every country.

I come now to consider what, in their present revolt, is the immediate *object of the Greeks*.

Public attention has been so little called during the last thirty years to the map of Turkey, and I am so anxious to appeal to that great and respectable majority of the English nation, in whose breasts lies the sacred deposit of our national feeling, and who have scarcely been occupied by wire-wove quartos on Greece, that I shall endeavour to give some idea of the true *size* of Greece, which is by no means the largest province of the Turkish empire. If I compare Turkey in Asia, the early possession of the Turks, to England ; conquered Turkey in Europe, to conquered Ireland ; and Egypt, to Scotland ; Greece will about answer Wales, subdued, like her, owing to the civil wars of the native princes (21), and equally mountainous, but more detached and inaccessible. There is no more truth in the idea that the Greeks insist upon exiling the Turks from Europe, than that the Welch ever determined to drive the English out of Ireland. The Greeks are

struggling to force the invaders, who are quartered rather than established over their country, back into Rumelia, as the Welch five centuries since endeavoured to repel their English tyrants on Shropshire.

The *Greeks* have risen in order to recover *Greece*, which the Turks finally conquered little more than a century ago, and which they did not hold during the most brilliant period of their European empire; and I own, the Greeks possessing Greece would not seem to me more unnatural than that jocose truism, "The Dutch have taken Holland."

While I am on the subject of Turkish geography, let me add, that a natural confusion of the war in *Moldavia and Wallachia* with that in Greece has materially prejudiced the Grecian cause. There are no less than six broad marks of distinction between Greece and the transdanubian principalities: 1st. Their inhabitants are not Greeks, but Slavonians of the Greek Church, which is equally the case with the Russians. 2dly. They being *flat and continental*, and Greece the most *mountainous and maritime* country in Europe, it follows that the former are not, like the latter, fit for a revolutionary warfare of Guerillas and cruizers, and that, while

Greece, once cleared of its oppressors, is nearly impregnable, Moldavia and Wallachia must always be exposed to the armies of the neighbouring powers. 3dly. While Greece, lying completely out of the way, and forming the south-eastern corner of Europe, is calculated by nature for neutrality, and affords not a single pretext for invasion, Wallachia and Moldavia, bordered on every side by the dominions of Turkey, Austria, and Russia, always will be, as they always have been, the arena for those contending powers. 4thly, In Wallachia and Moldavia, the Greeks are not the natives but the invaders, not oppressed but oppressing. 5thly, The Greeks having been twice deserted by Russia distrust and fear her, while the Walachs and Moldavians, whom she has steadily protected, are deeply attached to her. 6thly, While the possession of Greece would give Russia a naval preponderance in the Mediterranean, prejudicial alike to the interests of England and Europe, Wallachia and Moldavia, not having a single league of sea-coast, can bring her nothing but some square miles of rich yet uncultivated land. From hence it follows, that the principalities can neither remain, nor even become a free state; that therefore a retrospect to their revolution and to the cow-

ardice and treachery of their inhabitants is irrelevant here; and that all discussion, as to their future incorporation with Russia, or prolonged nominal subjection to Turkey, must be deferred to some future page. Indeed, the only happy result as yet established by the Greek revolution is, that no Greek will in future be appointed hospodar; and that a stop is thus put to the further operation of that instinct of mischief, amounting almost to sagacity, with which the Porte, anxious to degrade alike its Rayahs of the south and north, made the Greek nobles a handle for plundering the transdanubian peasantry, and the *castans* of Dacia a gift, that, like the robe of Nessus, poisoned the nobility of Greece.

The great object being to separate two nations, who, while they live together, must make what I trust we have no English phrase for "*un vrai ménage d'enfer*," (22) the first stipulation should be an equal encouragement to Greeks and Turks to leave respectively those provinces, in which either may form a minority of the population, and the same scale must be fixed for valuing the land and property of both, or else each party will endeavour to exile their antagonists without any remuneration. This, though far short of what is so glibly talked of, the expul-

sion of the whole Turkish nation, is, I confess, a startling measure ; but Englishmen must not judge of it by this or any other civilized country. Fatalism and the insecurity of property have generally prevented the Turks from vesting in the improvement of the country that accumulated wealth, which with them can hardly be called capital ; and excepting land, which is mostly tilled by Greeks, the Turks have but little immoveable property. The wealth of an Aga consists principally in furniture, horses, jewels, clothes, (all easily moved,) slaves, and (proh pudor!) women once free and happy. (23) I trust, however, that the Greeks may be permitted unconditionally to release their countrywomen, unless it is held, according to the jargon of the day, that all Agas have “ *a vested interest*” in those whom they have either kidnapped or bought from robbers, and that *the proprietors must die off* before their victims, then arrived at that age when beauties are most readily relinquished, can be restored to freedom ; unless these champions of property insist on such mere furniture as the maids and matrons of Greece, being paid for with “ *all the fixtures*” of the Sultan’s “ *Removing Tenant*.”

The property of the Greeks, having principally sprung from commerce, is in general either actually

floating, or capable of being removed by sea ; and, as most of it has e'er now been destroyed or torn up by the roots, the flotsam and jetsam of the general wreck will, without any convention, become the property of the strongest.

I am not suggesting that which will satisfy either Turks or Greeks, but that which is best for both ; not all we should wish, but all we can reasonably hope ; and at least this territorial compromise would stay the present daily waste of life and property, the endless misery inflicted and endured. It would be an experiment too on the capabilities of the country ; a trial of the latent energies and virtues of the people ; a criterion by which, in the event of another struggle, the European states might judge whether they ought again to remain neuter. Moreover, a power independent of Russia would gradually be created before the Turkish European empire, which is the only existing barrier against her in that quarter, was overthrown. (24)

The great misconception in England concerning the Greek revolution is this : we imagine the question to be, whether the Greeks shall throw off the Turkish yoke, or shall endure it patiently as before ; the real alternative is, whether Greece shall enjoy a permanent and guaranteed, though

tributary and merely municipal, independence, a medium between the recent situation of Hydra and the previous one of Ragusa, or whether *one of the two nations shall be exterminated.*

The cause of Wallachia and Moldavia is not necessarily connected with that of Greece, but I introduce it here for two reasons:

1st. Though I desire an accommodation between the Greeks and the Turks, yet in the event of that being impossible, I seize with avidity the prospect of an inducement to Russia to interfere in behalf of the former; for it is not to be expected that she should put herself to considerable risk and expense *gratuitously*. 2dly. Owing to the superintending powers over the transdanubian provinces which Turkey conceded to Russia by the treaty of Koutzouk Kainardgee, and to the subsequent cession of a third of Moldavia, (being all that tract which lies to the east of the Pruth,) which made it necessary to diminish the tribute of Moldavia by a corresponding third, minute details on the finances of the principalities were furnished to the Russian cabinet: and they, for the first time, afford a specimen, which may be depended on, of the provincial statistics of the Turkish empire, and confirm what I said of them in a former page.

I own I am far from joining in the general clamour against the Emperor Alexander. The possession of an inherited despotism is no crime; and the beneficent employment of it no common merit. Alexander may say, with still more truth than Joseph, when asked his opinion of the American Revolution, "*Mon métier à moi c'est d'être Royaliste;*" and when in his flirtations with a young blooming Republic he begs a bit of General Washington's walking-stick, this sentimental civility by no means pledges him to enter into the Russian red book, and with unwonted salaries, such grafts and scions as the Whigs can spare him, for leader, whipper-in, speaker (against time), cougher in the bass, or soprano cheerer of the Imperial St. Petersburg Opposition.

We have no right to expect that the Emperor Alexander should be interested in the Greek insurrection, except as it affects Russia; for it is preposterous to ask any government to do what is contrary to its interest, and the emancipation of Greece will not only do no good to Russia, but it will do her harm. She will lose her importance in the Levant, as the protector of the Greeks, and the power of terrifying the Divan by threatening to excite its Rayahs. If the Emperor

Alexander assists the Greeks, he will do it, like Trapbois "for a consideration:" and an island in the Levant, which he would probably suggest as his consulting fee on the occasion, being a mode of payment highly objectionable to this country, but which we could hardly prevent the Greeks from tendering, or the Emperor from closing his fingers on, I see no better remuneration for him than Wallachia and Moldavia. The liberal politician will exclaim against the idea of inducing one nation to assist another, by making over to it a third; but a few of those protestations, which royal Lotharios employ to get coy virgin principalities *under their protection*, would make both Moldavia and Wallachia fly in defiance of all scandal into the arms of the great northern autocrat. Considerable familiarities have already passed between them, and even the maiden half of Moldavia, like Lady Handy in '*Speed the Plough*,' "was, I believe, *rather* married to him many years ago." Russia has for the last fifty years pursued a kind and enlightened policy towards these principalities; and very recently by the treaty of Bukorest she procured for them the "septennial bill," instead of the former triennial and even discretionary appointment of Hospodars, which stimulated the natural rapacity

of each royal middleman, by contracting the time on which he could calculate for making something of his speculation.

She at the same period exhibited an unparalleled instance of consideration for the country, which she had been forced to make the theatre of war, by procuring for it a biennial exemption from all tribute ; and, though the Turks, violating the spirit of the convention, frightened the Hospodar of the day out of a sum equal to the two years' payment, yet the loss being deducted from what he would otherwise have made, fell *not* on the province but the undertaker of royalty.

The frequent occupation too of these provinces by the Russian armies, and the preference which they constantly gave to their flat and fertile surface, have singularly endeared them to the inhabitants. The English reader must not be startled by this paradoxical assertion. He must not estimate the effect of a Russian army taking up its winter quarters in Wallachia, or the feelings of the Wallachian population towards their military visitors, by what English prosperity would experience from 200,000 Russians quartered from Canterbury to Newcastle ; or what English patriotism would feel, on seeing the Preobashensky regiment parad-

ing in Hyde Park, and the windows of the Guards' Clubhouse crowded with offs and iskys. A disciplined army, occupying for any length of time a very barbarous country, does more good than harm. There is little for it to destroy, much for it to improve: the feelings of a people accustomed to bear the second-hand insults which a Vornik, Clutshiar, Logothett, or Medelnitsher, (25) has received from Tchiaux's, Tchochodars, and other equally euphonious personages, are rather gratified than otherwise by the superseding despotism of a Russian commandant, and the sight of well-dressed sentinels in their city.

Every one who has been much on the Continent must have observed, that the French armies, which usually subsisted on the contributions of allied or hostile quarters, were not remarkable for humility, and often had the bad taste, as well as bad feeling and policy, to insult the prejudices of their hosts, have yet left behind them more popularity than odium; merely because they spent the money that they took from the rich among the poor, brought the townspeople a band of music, and the girls plenty of partners; and above all, treated with superlative contempt the authorities whom the mob reluctantly obeyed. A nation must be de-

votedly attached to local customs, jealously proud of national independence, and well pleased with its whole *manière d'être*, or an invading army must commit great enormities, to avoid leaving behind a feeling of almost affectionate regret.

All the *lazzaroni* and loungers of a fine climate are grateful for the event of an arrival, and deeply regret the parade, the music, the horses, and the general and the staff, when they are all gone, and the little town becomes its own dull self again. The Russians not only furnished Bukorest with amusements, but enriched all Wallachia by purchasing its exuberant produce ; and in fact, most of the improvements, which have been made there during the last half century, will be found not only coeval with but consequent on its occupation by Russian armies. In short, the principalities felt like two publicans, gratified at having their tenement made the seat of a boxing match, with its attendant consumption of beer, gin, and tobacco.

I come now to consider what the inhabitants would gain by a change. I take the governments of Wallachia and Moldavia, when refined and distilled into that pure rarefied iniquity, to which they attained about half a century ago, to have been the acmé, the realized beau idéal of political cor-

ruption. Indeed it would be salutary for some of our patriots, who, on unearthing a politically-appointed gauger, roar out that our government is worse than that of Algiers, to peruse the authenticated accounts, not of the abuses, but of the established usages of modern Dacia; where a fund for the support of the army was *not* made liable to the pensions of the Dons and Doniskas, but the entire sum having been consecrated, or rather profaned, to this new purpose, the shadow of an army was by sufferance charged on its own original appropriated revenue!

All this was gratuitous corruption; there were no refractory peers, or conscientious county members, to disturb the universal harmony; no Wallachian Wilberforce to head the Boyars; no treasury influence to be kept up at Galatz; not an ordnance borough on the Danube, from Widin to Ibraila.

The machinery of a somewhat responsible government may want oiling; large sums may be necessary to make a constitution framed with all the barbarous stubbornness of Runnymede *work well*, and to prevent *virtual* representation from becoming *over real*; but here there was no conflict, it was all wanton profligacy.

Moldavia and Wallachia being for political plun-

der, "*un vrai pays de Cocagne*," where the reapers and gleaners were unmolested by daily, weekly, or quarterly devastations of *Times*, *Examiner*, *Edinburgh Review*, and all such typographical mammoths as are providentially unknown at Bukorest; this is a fair experiment how far an unchecked government will proceed.

During the last thirty years much of this was done away by the establishment of inspecting Russian and Austrian residents; by the "Hospodár Septennial Bill;" and latterly, by the restriction of these mimic thrones, to the four Fanal families of Mourousy, Callimáchi, and the two branches of Suzzo. (26) But this amelioration only proves how much the provinces would gain, and how little Turkey would lose by their being transferred to Russia; for they have prospered in exact proportion to their emancipation from Turkey; whose rights were so restricted by the treaty of Bukorest, that she now derives from them little beyond the frivolous gratification of seeming to appoint two duodecimo monarchs, who mimic or rather parody the splendour of the emperors of the East.

The cession of countries, equal to Ireland in size and fertility, would be a bold suggestion, if the Porte was, or even pretended to be, their sovereign.

Nay, if it had ever intended or even now engaged, *not* to make the best use of them, but only to remove all obstacles to the industry of their inhabitants, I would at once close the case here, by throwing up my brief; but I hope to shew that the Sultan neither does nor can prevent his droits de Suzerain from materially injuring the country. And I shall endeavour to support my proposition, not by copying whole columns of piastres with concomitant calculations of their partial and irregular depreciation, as long as this cluster of long words, but by giving some of the results.

Wallachia became tributary to the Turks, under its Voivode Mirza, in 1391, and agreed to pay the insignificant sum of 3000 piastres, which the Turks exacted evidently as a mark of homage rather than a source of revenue. The Porte engaged "to give protection to Wallachia, and to defend it against all enemies;" it has repeatedly evinced its inability to fulfil this engagement. It promised "to assume nothing more than a supremacy over the sovereignty of the principality," and to leave "the Voivode the right of "making peace or war without having to account for any such proceedings to the Sublime Porte." Moreover, the prelates and boyars were to elect their monarch, and the Sultan was to exercise

the form of approving, not to possess the power of even objecting to their choice. Never was national homage more jealously restricted and defined, and never was a treaty more shamefully and systematically violated. If the Porte is sincere in its repeated declarations, it ought earnestly to desire the incorporation of both these provinces with Russia; but its apparent parental affection for them is only equalled by its deep hypocrisy. Would the purity of Election have been much promoted if the English Parliament, instead of disfranchising the officers of the Excise and Customs, had passed a bill recommending to them a total disregard of their private interests, and an undivided anxiety for their country's welfare? Would the Irish proprietors have accepted, instead of a corn-bill, an order in council, in which the King was made to say: "My breast compassionating
 " greatly the situation of many farmers of Ire-
 " land, suffering greatly by the effects of *peace*,
 " I graciously condescend to issue my sacred
 " order that the poor tenants should not be
 " tormented unjustly." (27) Nothing can be more amiable than the injunctions of the Ottoman government, and it always redoubles its usual tenderness in addressing these amphibious pro-

vinces ; but it never provides the slightest security for its benevolent intentions being carried into effect, and each clause of a proclamation is generally nullified by that which follows. Thus, when the agents of the Capigi Bashee (or “ Arch Butcher of the Empire”) are enjoined to pay a fair price for the cattle which they are entitled to levy in Wallachia, the peasants are in the succeeding paragraph forbidden to sell them to any other person. To the commissioners of corn the Sultan says: “ Let the grain be exacted with measure ;” while in the next breath he forbids the owners to send it on board any vessels but those bound to Constantinople ; and after these helpless attempts to relieve “ the agricultural distress,” less efficient than even our corn-pledging contrivance, he adds, with as much complacency as was displayed in the House of Commons: “ Thus will the inhabitants of Wallachia be benefitted, and gain.” Every where the precepts which the Porte issues to its subjects are equally excellent, and all provision for enforcing them equally deficient. The experiment of substituting the dominion of Russia for that of Turkey has already been made in Taurida and Bessarabia. The barbarism in which half a century ago these provinces were buried, the splendid success

which has rewarded the efforts of Catherine and the present Emperor for their improvement, and the recent growth of Odessa, require no comment.

The waste of public money in Turkey is as endless as the titles of the Sultan; political profligacy appears commensurate with the plains and mountains of the East, and our military colleges and martello towers, our ordnance and barrack departments, shew like Highgate or Hampstead by the side of Caucasus.

In 1820, after the cession of a third part of the country, the revenue of Moldavia was 2,681,000 piastres, which taking the piastre at its present value, $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, is equal to 2,145,000 francs, or at the present rate of exchange 84,200*l.* Of this sum there went to Turkey, as the fixed tribute, 65,000 piastres, and there were spent for the advantage of the country 90,000, being the sum devoted to the army; though of that 20,000 was for foreigners, Bosniacs and Albanians, the Swiss guards of the delegated potentates of the East. The sum paid to Turkey and that devoted to the public service form together 155,000 piastres, and leave a balance of 1,990,000, or about 11-twelfths of the entire revenue, whose application cannot be traced to either of

these objects. While the Moldavian "Budget for 1820" contains, among other items, 250,000 piastres "Secret Service Money" at Constantinople, the chasm, still left between the "Ways and Means" and the expenditure, is filled up by presents to the Sultan and his Vizier, interest on money borrowed by his Highness the reigning Hospodar, to enable him to bribe his way to the throne, gifts to Greek sc̃avants who come to compliment him, &c. ; so that, excepting a sum of 38,000 piastres given by the Princess in charity, the most useful and satisfactory item seems to be the balance which the Hospodar bagged by this contract for acting an emperor of the East in miniature. When we reflect that the English government in 1812, without impoverishing or visibly distressing the country, raised the greater part of 55,995,123*l.* from a surface but little larger than that from which the most unrelenting extortion and severity could only squeeze 84,200*l.*, we may form some idea what a blessing freedom is to the government, as well as the subject.

But, if the revenue thus procured be puny, the misery it creates is upon a scale of real magnificence. The more important taxes are assessed upon each village according to its supposed popu-

lation, and the inhabitants are left to settle what each individual shall contribute. If among the moral and orderly Norwegians a similar method is productive of murmurs and injustice, we may easily imagine *what partiality and oppression, what quarrels and emigrations* are produced among the demoralized Moldavians.

The taxes are of the most minute and vexatious kind, dwindling down to ten aspers (hardly a half-penny) on the birth, not of a son and heir, but of every lamb. In short, if the Laputarian board of agriculture offered a premium to the author of the most ingenious essay "on the means of collecting the smallest revenue with the greatest possible injury to the contributors," I do not think even the inventor of the Irish hearth and window tax, could compete with these financiers of the Danube.

I have wearied the reader's attention, or (if he has been so unconscientious as to escape from me by skipping the preceding pages) I have *tried* it with these details, because they are a specimen of Ottoman finance; the various Pashas and Voyvodes of that vast empire being only so many smaller Hospodars. But I have treated him with merciful moderation, and he might fare worse, if Providence, which ever couples the bane and antidote, and appoints

the ichneumon to pursue the crocodile, were miraculously to turn Mr. Hume, during the approaching vacation loose in the streets of Bukorest, to range and rout unchained among the shrinking papers of the *Vinaritt* and *Vamma*, to reform *loods*, to denounce *Sokotelniks*, to question down evocated *Caminars*, (28) *Logothetts*, and *Medilnitshers*, and returning unmuzzled in the ensuing February to St. Stephen's, to make its wretched inmates long for Munny Begum polysyllables, that would *now* sound by comparison "familiar to their mouths as household words."

Unfortunately these details, while they shew how little the Porte really profited by its Dacian provinces, unveil sources of patronage which its ministers will be reluctant to forego; but I should be disingenuous were I to conceal a better objection which may be urged: that they furnished Constantinople every year with about four months' provisions, and that without them the Turkish capital would depend upon foreigners for food. This, however, is an additional motive for our desiring the cession; for my horror of tormenting even Turks does not carry me so far as to reject any innocent means of cramping their European power. Yet surely, when we compare the population of Constantinople and the extent of Asia Minor,

once the richest, and still the most fertile country in the world, we cannot doubt its capacity of supplying that food for twelve months which it now does for four.

The Porte would thus depend upon foreign nations only from choice, and might, by protecting duties and proper encouragement, secure this great source of wealth to Anadoli, which even now forms the body of its power and prosperity, and which, as it was the original, must hereafter be the ultimate extent of its empire. If the Porte chooses to leave its metropolis at the mercy of foreigners for food, it will justly incur an evil which it might not only remove, but exchange for a considerable advantage; but even then it will not be worse off than it is now likely to remain, whether the Greek struggle is prolonged for years, or the country, purified by the blood of all the cultivators who made it the granary and garden of Constantinople, relapses ere long untilled and uninhabited into hands, which, however skilful in turning a paradise into a desert, have not hitherto proved effective in re-converting a desert into a paradise. (29)

It would doubtless be most agreeable to the Turks, that Greece and the Greeks should again become what they were only two years ago; that

the fields which the Ottoman has desolated should revive, the cities he has burned rise from their ashes, the capitation-paying rayahs, whom, in a thoughtless sacrifice of avarice to ferocity, with liberality in carnage, and a sort of convivial profusion of blood, he has slaughtered, should return to life and to the Haratch, to unrequited labour, unresented ignominy, and unresisted oppression. All this would be extremely gratifying to the Sultan and his subjects, unless finding that "*l'appétit vient en mangeant*," they wish for another Scio, a second feast of death. For the Greeks, even this would be better than their present state, or their future prospects; but can it be? can all that is lifeless breathe and bloom again? Can living radiance beam from under all the cold yet veined and alabaster lids,

"That veil—thought shrinks from all that lurks beneath?"

Can all the gallant hearts that the cause of freedom made

"To beat but once, and be for ever still,"

be taught to beat again? Many years must elapse before even nature can revive; and the blue sky will long spread its splendid canopy, and the sun pour his glorious beams in vain upon a land blight-

ed and clad in mourning. Nothing will remain but the recollection, that the English government had neither the right to interpose, nor the will to intercede; and that the English public saw the last survivors of the Grecian name gallantly fall in defence of freedom, without throwing them even the empty comfort of commiseration.

The Turks have only a choice of evils, and I propose to them the least; but it will be said: The Greeks may still submit.—Can they hope to be forgiven? Can men, who for eighteen months have been tearing each other to pieces like wild beasts, drop off into a slumber of careless confiding tyranny on the one hand, and mute motionless slavery on the other? *Either the Greek and Turkish populations must be separated, or one of them destroyed.*

But suppose the subsistence of Constantinople, and consequently the European existence of the Sublime Porte, to depend on the forbearance of Europe. On what else does it now depend? On what else has it depended for half a century? The mutual jealousy of other powers has long supported it in this leaning attitude, and the present state of political feeling implies no increased disposition to overthrow it. Neither would Turkey necessarily fall from being shorn of her fron-

tier provinces. The throne of Constantine survived for centuries, when its sway no longer reached even the boundaries of Rumelia, and after the Sultan, a more encroaching foe than Alexander, and armed with all the resources of Asia Minor, had fixed his seat of empire at Adrianople.

For the Transdanubian principalities, unconditional union and amalgamation with Russia are more desirable than even independence. Freedom must be *planted*, and cannot be *erected* on the model of some neighbouring edifice; but the young and tender tree of liberty, unfenced as it must be at first, would find Wallachia a site peculiarly unfavourable, from the political tempests that pour as fiercely as those of nature from the Crapac; and a soil more unpropitious still, a mass of moral as well as material alluviation, sure to infect it with a morbid rankness.

Passing over the old theory of the responsibility of monarchs, and supposing all European countries, (for I question whether the Arabs, or the Hottentots, or the Esquimaux, would admit such a doctrine) to be the estates, and the several nations, now permitted to graze over them at so many kreutzers, pauls, or roubles a head, the herds of all the Sovereigns who doze or fidget on their

seats of honour, I contend that the Verona vestry, about to meet on European parochial business, should permit the owner of Turkey to transfer to the owner of Russia his manorial rights, quit-rents, and heriots, over the out-lying farms of Moldavia and Wallachia, inasmuch as the said rights do these farms 100's. worth of harm, for every guinea that the Constantinopolitan squire receives.

But it may be said, that I am only deferring the settling day between the Porte and Russia.

After the Greeks are freed, and the principalities ceded, one of two things must in the course of the present century occur. The mouldering corruption of Turkey will proceed, till political sores, that fester instead of healing, have produced final mortification, and the European empire of Othman expires like a candle which has been suffered to burn down into the socket; and the object of all our wishes will thus be attained without either misery or effort: or, the Turks, having reached that point of political degradation, beyond which there is no further sinking, will take the infection of civilization from the north and south, and catch the improvements from which a sanitary cordon of prejudices has as yet preserved them. If this occurred, I would not advocate, nor even desire the sen-

tence of their banishment executed at the price of
 endless individual suffering; though they still wrote
 from right to left, and still wore turbans instead
 of hats—nay, to quit a tone of levity which is
 unsuited to the subject, not though they continued
 to exalt an impostor above the Son of God. Con-
 vinced as I am, that the mere temporal blessings, by
 which Christianity has elevated Europe above the
 rest of the world, and England above the rest of
 Europe, ought to recommend it by its political
 utility to those who are so unfortunate as to doubt
 its truth; and that the evidence of its divinity is
 sufficient to satisfy the sceptic, without an appeal
 to its effects; mainly attributing, as I do, the bar-
 barism of Asia and Africa to the fatal influence of
 Mahometanism; still I must protest against the doc-
 trine of expatriating nations for their religious
 errors. Such a principle once admitted, there is
 no limit to its consequences; for Christianity, un-
 happily, as yet enlightens but a minority of the
 human race. That nation, which reared the noblest
 fabrics of verse and architecture, was unable, by the
 utmost stretch of unaided human intellect, to erect
 even a *rational* system of belief; and when we see,
 or, as Englishmen, when we happily only hear,
 how the passions and interests of men have elsewhere

corrupted even the purity of the Christian faith ; when we perceive how completely the evidence of our missionaries has refuted the philosophers who eulogized the dogmas of Confucius or Brama ; when it is thus proved, that *every* religion but the true one is more or less morally and politically mischievous, it follows, that if once the wickedness of a creed is held to justify an attack upon its votaries, from that moment three quarters of the human race are outlawed, and may be hunted down, and plundered with impunity. I trust we shall hear no more, at least not in the Grecian cause, of this summary mode of arraigning, convicting, sentencing, and leading off to perpetual exile, men guilty of being buried from their birth in that worst darkness, the darkness of the soul. For the life to come, religion is happily matter of fact, but in *this* it is a mere question of opinion ; and the Turks have precisely the same right to indict us for adhering to Christianity, that we have to prosecute them for persisting in Islamism. The present age has been distinguished by bloodless conflicts with the powers of darkness ; they are perhaps the most honourable of our national efforts, but our weapon must still be the press and not the sword.

But is the banishment of the Turks even politi-

cally necessary to the Greeks? and is there not room for both? Because they cannot live together in the same village, or even canton, must the Ægean and the Euxine for ever roll between them? Is the country overpeopled? The vices rather than the virtues of the Turks convince me, that from oppressive masters they may become inoffensive neighbours. Will they ever be again an enterprising, active people, or re-conquer from the invigorated Greeks that country, which all its natural fastnesses and added forts could not, in hands like theirs, defend from disunited, unofficered, and almost unarmed assailants? Will not the chain from Pindus to Olympus form a good granite bolster between two nations who cannot live together in domestic quiet? Let the Turks relapse into their usual mixture of anarchy and apathy; let the Greeks have five years' possession of the country, and, with some doubts about their expelling, I have none of their keeping out their tyrants. As neighbours they will *suit*, from the *opposition* of their tastes and interests; the Turks no more clashing with the Greek ventures to Marseilles, than the Greeks with the Turkish pilgrimages to Mecca. The Turks will avail themselves of industrious neighbours, and the Greeks of unenlightened customers;

and whatever change occurs must be for the advantage of the latter. Peace is necessary to educate infant Greece, and war is the one thing likely to revive the slumbering genius of Mahometanism. Let Russia pause before she wakes that torpid savage ; I have no doubt of the result between a barbarous and a semi-barbarous power, but the scale of conflict will be gigantic, and far above the value of the prize. Russia is civilized enough to possess statesmen, and generals, and engineers, and her population is still sufficiently savage, to make what is elsewhere a proscription be but a permission ; but the Mahometan powers beat her in fanaticism, and they are still a family, though a family of divided brothers.

Much more might be added on the Greek revolution ; but, having endeavoured to put their cause in a fair point of view, I shall proceed to the object for which I took up my pen (30). Next winter the Greeks will be visited by all the horrors of famine, for the dreadful struggle in which they have been engaged, has prevented their tilling the land. The picture of Irish famine, which has been lately presented to us, faintly images to the mind what the Greeks will undergo, for theirs will be universal,

not partial, distress ; and there are no sympathizing fellow countrymen to relieve them.

Their wounded and their sick are already in the most pitiable state, for though they have many national physicians and surgeons, they are without medicines and surgical instruments, or the means of procuring them.

It is under these circumstances, and only in the event of the distress in Ireland being removed by the approaching potatoe crop, that I venture to suggest to the English public the propriety of a subscription for furnishing the Greek sufferers with food and medicines. I do not urge its being employed in the purchase of arms ; even if their exportation was legal, many persons might feel or affect reluctance to put them into the hands of men, who may abuse as well as use them. But when I remember how severely, during the late war, the English minister was blamed for stopping the sale of medicines to *France*, I cannot suppose that we shall ever see an order in council prohibiting the purchase of corn for the starving, or the exportation of bark and lint for the sick and the wounded Greeks.

I can anticipate no objection to *such* a subscription. It does not compromise our govern-

ment; it need not take any money out of the country, for the medicines and surgical instruments might be purchased in England, and the foreign corn bonded in our ports, and hanging in *terrorem* over our farmers, might be bought and transported to Greece. If opportunities offered, a part of this money might redeem Greek captives, and would even then return to England, by the back stream of commerce; but I will not insult any reader, by supposing that he would grudge some thousands abstracted from our morbid abundance of capital, when a few shillings are at this moment sufficient to save a fellow-creature from dishonour and apostacy; from servitude embittered by previous refinement and remembered happiness; from the loss of the dearest relatives, aggravated by the peculiarly domestic habits of Greek women and children. What is African slavery, when contrasted with sorrows such as these? Where are the prior claims on our purses? This nation was said to be beggared, and it has just spared a quarter of a million in charity out of the income of the year. It is not likely that Providence will again inflict famine on Ireland, or that any unusual appeal will be made to our humanity, during the year to come. Where else will money tell so well in

preventing misery? When will such an occasion recur? Next winter fixes the fate of Greece. By this day year our aid will be too late. The Greeks will no longer want it; they will be sure of success, or their skeletons, scattered over the country in whose defence they fell, will need neither food nor sympathy. The Catholic Pères de la Redemption spent their means and their lives in delivering captives, and we have not yet given a guinea. When we abolished the slave trade, we sacrificed avarice and prejudice at the altar of mercy, and we have not yet *talked* of relieving the Greeks. Unless all feeling is paralyzed, and numbness has crept over our souls, this disgraceful apathy must end; but it may last till we have earned disgrace, which regret will not wash away; and have given the foreigners, who envy and hate our pre-eminence, the triumph of seeing all, that they calumniously said of our mercantile selfishness, miraculously verified.

The cause of the Greeks is unconnected with the spirit of revolution in Europe (31). They are not fighting for a quantum of political freedom, but for that national independence, which is become synonymous with individual existence.

They cannot now be subdued without being de-

stroyed ; and the question is, *how soon the conflict shall end, and how many of either party shall survive it.*

I do not ask compassion, the *active* compassion not of words, but money, because they are Greeks, or patriots, or Christians ; but because they are men, menaced at once with slaughter, disease, and famine (32). Their antagonists have a government to apply to, and countrymen who will relieve them, for, with all their errors, the doctrines of Mahomet render Mussulmans charitable towards each other.

The Greeks have no earthly prospect of gratuitous and disinterested aid, but from the English public ; for if *we*, to whom Providence has given the means, have lost, what we had, the taste for charity, where shall the unfortunate look for succour ?

Deputies are daily expected from Greece, and though they may fail of persuading our Government to intercede in their favour, I trust their arrival will elicit some symptoms of interest which may encourage the Greeks in the pursuit of that freedom, which like the Swiss and the Dutch they must buy with their own exertions.



NOTES.

(1) At the time of Cromwell's Irish campaign, the Ottoman power was in its full vigour, and from thence advanced in the gradation of the capture of the Venetian islands in the Archipelago, the defeat of the Austrians in 1663, and the conquest of Candia in 1670, to that acmé of their triumphs, the siege of Vienna, which was saved by *Poland* in 1683: of course *not* that Poland from whom Austria sliced off her provincial kingdom of Galitzia. The power of Mahomet the IVth was to the barbarous anarchy of Ireland in 1649, about what the power of George the IVth is to Turkey in 1822.

(2) "The Lord Chancellor" answers, perhaps, more nearly than "the Chancellor of the Exchequer" to the Kislár Aga, or Chief of the black Eunuchs, who has with equal propriety, the gift of all the Grand Seignior's Crown Livings, the uncontrolled superintendence of the endless and enormous religious foundations throughout Turkey. The parallel between our Chancellors and the Kislár Aga must however end here.

(3) I cannot suffer a second Edition to be published without expressing my regret that this sentence should have given offence to the kneaders of the nonsense. So fully was the misfortune of mingled fury and feebleness balanced by the merit of early zeal in the Grecian cause,

and by martyrdom from the well-served *batter* Courier, that I cancelled my first expression, "newspaper of the day," because I felt that it was thing as saying "the Morning Chronicle," and w feeling personality on a paper whose vigorous you to procure it respect in its decrepitude, and w offspring should be privileged to drivel by such a ancestry. Nay, I was so anxious that there sho needless dissension even between us, between the significant and the most ridiculous of Grecian ad that I should have expunged the obnoxious paragra could have foreseen the insatiable greediness of thos rich in such wealth already, seize my little contr of ridicule as their own. It is the misfortune, not the fault of the Greeks, that the least ingenious of works of fiction thus pursues its imaginary call to write down a cause, which is not, like that of the Whigs, strong enough to escape being damned by such uninvited patronage, and which in those *scimotigri* paws is so slabbered with a saliva of mingled venom and froth, that its disfigured features can scarcely be recognised by even its fondest admirer. The Greeks are no more responsible for the insults offered under the shelter of their cause to the British army than the Whigs are for the horrid lines on the death of Lord Londonderry; and, instead of needlessly considering the Chronicle as their organ, it would be but common justice to judge them by so rational an advocate as the Morning Post.

(4) I find in an old college exercise of my own, a passage which may enforce my arguments; and while I fancy that all the post-horses I see are whirling away customers from my publisher, and proselytes from my cause, to some bower impervious to politics and pity, and that I have not a moment to lose in getting my "Thoughts" into the hands

at least, if not the heads, of the few fugitives whom I may shoot flying, I avail myself of the following paragraph, to pacify a Compositor who is clamouring for notes, promised but not provided, and to rebut the charges against the Greeks :

“ Those who, while they own that bondsmen should be freed, pronounce that Greece is too much wasted by a national atrophy to be thus revived, should, before they pass a sentence of worse than death upon an entire people, inquire if all the charges which have been brought against the Greeks are true.

“ They are said, when advanced to office, to *pillage their fellow rayahs* ; but the power which they abuse is sold them by the Turks, who set a price on every office, from the sceptre of Bukorest to an Archon's wand ; and in all countries, those who purchase political power will reimburse themselves by plunder or peculation.

“ They are called *intriguing* : that which in minor objects is stigmatized as *low intrigue*, becomes in mightier schemes a *dignified ambition*. The activity with which cabals are prosecuted for an archon's chair, only proves that the Greeks *could* take an interest in the politics of their country, that the germs of generous ambition exist, and need but the fostering warmth of freedom to swell into maturity, branch out into grandeur, and rich in all the fruits of happiness and virtue, form at once the ornament and shelter of the land.

“ The Greeks are reproached as *frivolous* ; what have they else than trifles, on which to waste that vividness of feeling, that keenness of perception, that luxuriance of fancy, which form the ground-work of the charge ? Will the Porte enrol them in her armies ? Is there much temptation to be a politician under the terrors of an armed despotism ? Or an author where printing is unknown ? Or a merchant where wealth and confiscation are but cause

and effect? Yet we reproach them because they are no longer poets, generals, and statesmen.

“Can a Greek, though he had the virtues of an Aristides and the talents of a Pericles, be any thing but a wretched slave? Is he not fortunate in being able to interest himself about nothings; to fly, though but for an instant, from the restlessness of agonizing reflection, and draw a voluntary delirium from the animation of childish merriment? *Never* let us confound misfortune with guilt, nor call what is but a calamity a crime.

“The Greeks are accused of being *false*: I allow that they are not guided by scrupulous candour towards masters who have always oppressed, and allies who have uniformly deserted them; and that they seek to parry the blows of power by the only weapon which is left them, dissimulation; tyranny invariably necessitates deceit, and self-defence extenuates falsehood.

“They are stigmatized with *cowardice*: I grant that an unarmed and helpless village crouches beneath the cannon of a Turkish fort; that a thinly-scattered population flies before a Turkish army; that a wretched islet awaits in silent terror the annual rapine of the Pasha’s fleet. But does this prove the cowardice of the conquered, or only the conqueror’s might? That seeming slumber of submission is but the torpor of combined despair and helplessness; the Genius of Greece is shackled in every limb; an effort, though but of suffering nature, a convulsion of pain, or even a sob of agony would only rouse his torturers; he must at once burst every fetter, or his struggles will only rivet all their links.”

(5) Those who fancy that a Greek is an amphibious monster, half European and half Asiatic, will be surprised at hearing, that there are in London, at this moment, the following respectable Greek merchants; Eustratius

Rallis, Mavrogordatus, Alexander Contostavlos, Phrangiadis, and Negrepontis; and either in London or Cambridge they may satisfy themselves, that Messrs. Schinas, Maniakis, and Pappinicotas are men arrayed like ourselves, in coats, breeches and waistcoats, and whose manners and information would not disgrace the first European society.

(6) There were between three and four hundred Greek students in Germany, and between five and six hundred in Italy. A still greater number was expected to resort to a university, about to be founded in Ithaca by the Ionian Government, which had already appointed, as chancellor, the Earl of Guilford, whose unostentatious and almost subterraneous efforts to enrich the Greek character with "knowledge which is power" have for many years made him the link of benevolence between Greece and England.

(7) Capodistrias, Sturdzas, Negris, Crutas, Neranzis, Mustoxidis, Persianis, &c., with many naval officers, served in Russia, a few in Austria, and there were once many in the imperial armies of France. But the prosperity of the Greeks, who bought promotion by perpetual expatriation, no more excuses the Turks, than the honours to which Irishmen rose in every European service but our own, blotted out the disgrace of those laws which we have abolished. Let me add, that the Greeks, whom oppression had driven to exile, were ever distinguished for loving and serving the country they had been forced to leave, and that the noblest names of modern Greece are her benefactors, Demetrius Mouruzis, the patriarch Gregorius, and the brothers Zosimas.

(8) Nicolaus Mavrommatus at Bologna, Dalla Decima.

and Spiridion Pappadopulus at Padua ; and Pavia once boasted among its professors the name of UGO FOSCOLO.

(9) That I may not unfairly darken the picture by letting the reader suppose that the rest of these women have been starved, I must explain, that they have been distributed over the rest of Greece.

(10) The houses of Galatis, of Scartikiotis, and of Zo-graphos, are among the first at Trieste; and even at Vienna, Ralli and the brothers Vlasti are considerable merchants.

(11) The sacred band, composed of 500 young Greeks, who had left the Universities of Germany to join their insurgent countrymen, was, like its ancient namesake, cut in pieces by the enemy, gallantly fighting till only twenty men survived.

(12) The following are some of the Greek Literati of the day :—

Eugenius Vulgaris, Nicephorus Theotokis, Constantinus Karaioannis, Balanus of Joannina, Athanasius of Paros, Joseph the Mæso-dacian, Neophytus the Kapsokali-vitis, Georgius Sakellariu, Daniel Philippidis, Athanasius Psal-lidis, Demetrius Darvazis, Athanasius Christopulus, Constantinus Kokkinakis, Constantinus Kumas, Lamprus Photiadis, Anastasius Georgiadis, Adamantinus Korays, Neophytus Ducas, Anthimus Gazi, Kaora, and Koletti, Secretary to the Congress.

(13) I do not speak of Tuscany, whose government is by no means oppressive ; a very small part of the revenues of the Grand Duke being derived from any mode of taxation.

(14) Let me explain, that I do not mean to instance Scotland as a country well governed in *the gross*; but merely in these *details*: church discipline, and public education. My aim was to illustrate the effects of that purely religious persecution which has so long harassed the Greeks, not for being Greeks but for being Christians, by a comparison between Scotland, and Ireland—by far more favoured than her, in soil, climate, and geographical position. The Scotch are utterly unrepresented; the Irish, instead of being, like ourselves, what we are taught to call *virtually*, are really and actually represented. For the moral, the religious, the orderly, and instructed Scots, who have nearly disproved the adage, that “a little knowledge is a dangerous thing,” and who might almost realize with impunity the Utopian scheme of universal suffrage, there is just mockery of representation enough to corrupt the few monopolists of election; and in the educated and opulent Glasgow, I found respectable tradesmen, unconscious that they were allowed a whole quarter of Mr. Campbell to protect them in parliament. Of the Irish, a much larger proportion enjoys the elective franchise than in England, and the number may be almost indefinitely augmented by the prevalent insertion of lives, in even the shortest leases, the splitting of these *virtual* and often fraudulent freeholds, and the consequent forced manufacture of children, not, as Swift suggested, for immediately supplying the tables, but for hereafter crowding the poll booths of the rich. The Irish, too, have the benefit of the English law, and in the natural and usual state of assizes, I should not have been awoke, as at Glasgow, by the drums and fifes, and trampling hoofs, and ringing scabbards of the judges’ entry; nor in a court-house, which the administration of justice had converted into a bivouack without, and a guard-room within, have been stopped at the door of the “box of the

magistrates, and *officers on guard*." Yet, in Ireland, all these elements of good have been converted into aggravations of evil, by our national and parliamentary system of religious persecution, which, however softened from its ancient atrocity, still stamps us as second in bigotry to the Turks alone.

(15) *e. g.* "The Parliament on the contrary, *even when unprovoked*, had ever menaced the Papists with the most "rigid restraint, if not a total extirpation."—HUME, vol. vii. 8vo. Ed., 1820, p. 161.

"The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge."—*Ibid.* 171.

(16) *e. g.* The subscription by the Greeks at Misolonghi for the widows and children of the Turks; and the capitulation of Corinth, after the slaughter committed by the Turks at Cassandra.

(17) *Je me cite encore.* "Writers, whose opinions on the present character and destiny of the Greeks have widely differed, concur in admitting both the reality and the intensity of their sufferings. They describe a degree of national debasement, an extent of individual misery, unequalled in the annals of despotism; insults to which the ordinary humiliations of conquered empires are trifles; tyranny, compared with which ravage is protection, and destruction mercy. They depict *not* the transient excesses of an irritated victor, *not* a short-lived burst of havoc; but tyranny perseveringly clinging to its victim, and which ages have been unable to appease. *For a Greek*, industry is a crime, and nature's own exuberance a curse, wealth only a title to spoliation, and beauty but a passport to dishonour.

(18) "*Fatalism*, that poisonous theory, which numbs each keener feeling of the heart, which deadens every loftier aspiration of the soul, which denounces exertion and proscribes hope, which strips virtue of half its beauty, and vice of all its hideousness, which soothes the salutary pangs of conscience, which forbids the good to resist temptation, and the bad to cherish repentance."

(19) Taught by the painter, who wrote, "this is a lion," let me now add, "this is blame of Pitt's politics." I first learnt the publication of pages which I had left ready printed a month before, by a country paper's remarking my apostacy from the principles of my father by a laboured eulogium of Pitt. I had heard of unconscious damsels being told the real state of their hearts, but still I was startled on learning that Pitt was the unsuspected idol of mine. And when I traced this rivulet of unintentional calumny to that perennial fountain of truth, the *Chronicle*, instead of being amused by the blunder, I was in my own case vexed to find my irony taken, *au pied de la lettre*, and visited with: "We turned incredulously to the name in the title-page," an incredulity fully atoned for by the previous excess of credulity. Happily finding next: "*braved!* soul of Richard Brinsley Sheridan! *raised*, would have been more *germaine*," I resolved to inform the editor that "*braved*," like *foes for fees*, was the printer's mistake for "*brewed*," and that, without requiring him to comprehend a long sentence of ten English lines, and still less the context, or the general tone of the work, I was sure he would understand that *brewed* meant the same as *raised*, and would, with his usual candour, insert my explanation in his respectable columns. But, finding myself, a few lines further, represented as saying of our subsidized allies, "how bravely they bore defeat." the sentence being here closed with a full stop, and *the latter half of it, which*

completely changes the meaning, left out; I reflected that, even the person who thinks *braving* a storm, from which he might have kept the ship sheltered, is praise of a minister, could scarcely do *this* by *mistake*. Though prescription may entitle to blunder, the longest practice cannot privilege falsehood; so I gave up my design of explaining.

Anxious as I am to keep the cause of Greece unmixed with our party politics, and unimportant as are my opinions, even now that those straws will float down the stream of time, embalmed in such clear, sweet, and attractive amber, I cannot help owning, that if I was the son of a Pittite, I should no more believe in Pitt, than, if the offspring of Parson Tozer, I should in Joanna Southcote.

Had I changed my opinions, it is not the fear of being thought to have cool'd from the boyish violence of a Cambridge debating club, that would make me feel scruples, or even shyness, in owning it; for, it is not more the duty of a public man to surrender much of his free will to the party he has espoused, than it is the privilege of a private man to weigh impartially the merits and faults of all, and be

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

But where is now the rational being, unless bribed by interest, hampered by pledges, softened by remembered friendship, or irritated by long warfare, who prefers Pitt's quackeries, which we swallowed, to Fox's prescriptions, which we neglected? What is *just now* to dazzle or lure a man into Pittism? The conduct of Pitt's protégés, the restored Sovereigns of Europe? or even the tardy composition, the three and sixpence in the pound, of shuffling, shabby Austria? Is the comfortable operation of a return to cash payments to endear to us the man who fraudulently departed from them? Is the increasing dissatisfaction with *virtual* representation to recommend the early champion and mature betrayer of Reform? Can even our admira-

tion of the ingenuity, by which the most reasoning people on earth were in twenty years done out of 800,000,000! ; can even this financial legerdemain, this perfection of humbug, which beats the usurpation of the Popes to nothing ; can even recorded eloquence, and proved individual integrity, redeem political swindling on such an enormous scale ? Pitt's foreign politics are now matters of history, of which the humblest individual is entitled to judge ; and I hope my readers will not think I approve them.

(20) The Ulema are the Mahometan doctors of both divinity and law, the Coran being alike the religious and civil code ; and from the Moollahs, the Kadilesters, or Chief Justices, of Rumeli and Anadoli, are appointed.

The viziers are officers of the first rank in Turkey, and the six first viziers composed the Divan, till Sultan Selim substituted the twelve first officers of state, the Grand Vizier, and the Mufti, (or Shaikislam, usually chosen from the Kadilesters), being " the president of the council."

Viziers are Pashas with three tails to their *tagh* or standard. We associate something ridiculous with the word, tails ; but the symbol of a pasha, three long tufts of horse-hair, floating from a staff with a cross-bar, like that of the Roman manipular standard, is very splendid and imposing. Even those curious regimental colours, the kettles of an Oda, have as martial an appearance to the Turks as the legionary eagles to the French. Habit is with us omnipotent ; but a savage would perhaps decorate the Lord Chancellor with a shako, and macassar'd mustachios, and a young lancer with a full bottomed wig, convinced that the whiskers gave a look of wisdom, and the wig an air of prowess. Indeed, this apparent inversion has been already practised ; the Eastern sages wear *beards*, the cousins-german of *whiskers*, and the only uniform of the

Tombuctoo body-guards, is said to be second-hand *wigs*, imported from England, and graduated, from the scratch to the cauliflower, by the wearer's rank; the African army-clothier, in the event of a brevet, depending on our first scholar's museum.

Such a quicksand is the domain of dress, that the time may come, when beauties will "never miss a tie," and clerical *shovel hats* be supplanted by *coalscuttle bonnets*.

(21) "David and Roderic, brothers to Lewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that Prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward, and they seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to enslave their native country."—HUME, vol. iii. p. 105, ed. 1793.

"——— the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring Bashaw, neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels In the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force,"—GIBBON, vol. xii. p. 248.

(22) Our nearest approach to it is the vulgar but eloquent imprecation, "May you marry the devil's daughter, and may the old folks come and live with you."

(23) Let my haste excuse my again putting up with a passage at hand, to explain why the spoiler is odious, and the victim wretched, and a harem far different from the bright descriptions of Moore or Byron:

"For *him* who clouds the very dawn of youth and hope, and sapping all the principles of filial duty breaks every fetter of domestic love, and blights the paradise

of the fond father or confiding husband, *even for him* some palliation may be found. He may plead the omnipotence of beauty, the delirium of passion; the chains of guilt may look like wreathes of roses, and the very final triumph of seduction seem but the dedication of an already devoted heart. The eloquence of pleading passion, and the charms of yielding beauty may throw a sheltering veil on the deformity of lust. But can we pardon *him*, who owes his triumph not to responsive fondness, but unresisting helplessness; who buys a victim that he never saw, or calculates the pangs of poverty, only to purchase the sorrows of a father, and make him an accomplice in the ruin of his child? Can sophistry protect the savage selfishness of vice? Will libertinism extend indulgence to triumph undeserved, and unparticipated passion? Will it dare to ridicule the agony of weeping parents, the breaking of the plighted hearts that part, the sorrows of deserted homes, the solitude of helpless age? Poets may call the harem the paradise of pleasure, or the guarded sanctuary of love, but it is the dungeon of despair, the altar whose offerings are a living death. Can such voluptuous and secluded calm shed o'er the heart that coldness, which the sacred cloister and all the majesty of pealing choirs have sometimes failed to breathe? And should awakened love *give* all that despots *seize*, but cannot *win*, the master's glance is fate, and his decision death; a watery grave, a midnight noiseless execution. Often does the stranger, wandering by these guarded bowers of pleasure,

“ Hear nightly plunged amid the silent wave
 “ The frequent corse.”

(24) “ Age and disease have tamed the savage into a surly repose; and his next struggle will be the last gasp of expiring tyranny. But will Greece be freed? Monarchs have learned the art of encroachment, and

the impunity of spoliation. Poland has been partitioned, Saxony dismembered, Venice and Genoa transferred ; many states have been shorn of offending corners and prominences, and rounded or squared by royal geographers, disinterestedly anxious to beautify the map by making its colouring more uniform and compact. Are the kindred eagles yet satiated with prey, or wearied by flight ? Is the Austrian vulture gorged with the carcase of the winged lion, that quarry which was struck down and contemptuously thrown her ?”

(25) Several officers bear the title of *Vornik*, which is a judge, a treasurer, or a collector, as it is coupled. *Logothetis* are clerks ; *Clutshiar*, a keeper or serjeant at arms ; *Medelnitsher*, secretary to the hospodar ; *Tchiaour's* are officers in the Janizzaries of three kinds, something like captains and lieutenants ; *Tchocodars* are couriers and purveyors.

(26) At the breaking out of the revolution, Michael in Moldavia, and Alexander in Wallachia, one from each of these branches, were hospodars.

(27) These are the words of the Hatti-Sherif, or Proclamation.

(28) The Sokotelniki are peasants privileged from the capitation tax.

The Vamma is the customs, the *vinaritt* a tax on wine. The Loods are 18,000 *messes* of from five to ten individuals, into which the Wallachian population is divided for taxing.

Logothetis, are clerks ; *Caminars*, excise-officers.

(29) To shew how completely the Turks “ Can make a hell of heaven——,” I subjoin an extract from Savary's

"*Letters on Greece*," though I have been obliged to leave out much of the interminable French eloquence and sentimentality of so trashy and affected an author: and another from Raffenet's impartial, and I am told accurate, account of the present Greek Revolution. Raffenet accompanies this general picture by an anecdote of individual atrocity, which, after in vain endeavouring to make a translation of it fit for the eyes of those,

" Whose gentle bosoms, Pity's altar, bear

" The chrystal incense of each falling tear,"

I am compelled to omit.

" Among all the countries, in which I have resided, there is none whose temperature is so healthy, and so agreeable, as that of Crete. The heats there are not excessive; and violent cold is absolutely unknown in the plains. The winter, properly speaking, begins only in December, and ends in January. During this short season, snow never falls in the plain, and rarely do you see the surface of the water frozen. The weather is more commonly as fine as in the beginning of June in France.

" No sooner is the month of February past, than the earth is adorned with flowers and harvests. The rest of the year is almost one continued fine day. The sky is continually bright and serene, and the winds mild and temperate. Nor are the nights less beautiful: a delicious coolness then prevails, and the air, less charged with vapours than with us, discovers a greater number of stars to the observer.

" To the charms of so delightful a climate, are added other advantages which enhance their value. The island of Crete has hardly any marshes. Myrtles and laurel roses border the rivulets which meander through the valleys. On every side the country presents you with groves of orange, lemon, and almond trees. The Arabian jessamine blooms in the gardens, which in the spring are decorated with beds of violets."

“ A Candiot Greek possessed no civil rights. He could be stripped of his property by the Aga, the Governor, or the nearest Turk, without being allowed even to complain ; if he applied to a court of justice, the case was not so much as heard ; but he was careful not to make so desperate an attempt ; he and his whole family would have been destroyed ; his duty was to suffer and be silent. That justice, which usually dictates a Turkish decision, was banished from this worthless country ; every thing was injustice, despotism, and crime. When a Turk was distressed in circumstances, and without the means of procuring any money, he betook himself to an infallible resource by going into the first Greek shop, and saying to the owner, ‘ Pay me the sum I lent you last year.’ Frequently, I may say always, the poor wretch had never beheld his pretended creditor ; but his life was in peril if he did not pacify him. If the sum demanded was too large to be immediately procured, the villain allowed a few days’ delay, accompanying his ultimatum with this hateful, though legal, form of words : ‘ If the remainder of the sum that I claim is not produced, you die.’ The numerous instances of similar threats, followed by their speedy execution, left no doubt of his sincerity, or the ruin of his victim, who submitted, only too happy to redeem his life at such a price. In Candia, the Greeks were always to be pitied, and the Turks ran not the least risk. The Turks had a peculiar satisfaction in venting their rage on the Greek Papas. When some of these villains met a priest, they took him for their mark, and, to try their skill, amused themselves with firing at him. When their victim fell, the Greeks of the neighbourhood were obliged to pay an appointed fine to the Aga, according to their property, as the price of permission to remove the corse.”

The following extract from the same author will explain the concluding words :

"The law which appoints this fine is called 'The Law of Blood.' It is enforced all over Turkey, and its object is to efface from the neighbourhood the stain of a murder. The produce of this law, if it can be so called, belongs to the chief mosques. This law is connected with another usage always carried into practice. When a Greek is to be hung, there is no time fixed for execution, but it takes place on the first convenient spot, and the Greeks of the neighbourhood are obliged to make up a certain sum, which amounts sometimes to several thousand piastres, to be relieved at the expiration of three days from the horrid sight of a dead body—nay, a criminal is often hung over some shop-door; and they prefer the shops of the grocers, because they are the most crowded. The wretched inhabitant is obliged to pass and re-pass during three days under the feet of a livid corse, and is then obliged to remunerate those who have made him so horrid a present."

Let me here remark, as a proof of the demoralizing nature of Mahometanism, and an antidote to that absurd liberality which would eulogize even the Koran, that the Candiot Mussulmans, whom, as well as the Servians, Bosniacs, Albanians, and other Slavonic Mahometans, we erroneously call Turks, are mostly of Greek origin, their ancestors having apostatized.

(80) Since these pages were written, the 150,000 inhabitants of Edinburgh *have* subscribed for the Greeks about 150*l.*, which makes almost a farthing a piece, and is an honourable contrast with the million of roubles* subscribed at Odessa, a town of 36,000 Russians.

* The paper rouble is now worth about tenpence halfpenny, though, as a representative of value, it goes as far as four shillings in England; so that the modern and low-born Odessa really gave little more than one thousand times as much as the ancient Dun Edin.

This munificence, however, does not seem to be episodic; and my despair of seeing London redeem its character from this strange singularity, induces me to suggest a mode by which we might relieve the Greeks without subscribing a guinea, and gain the credit of generosity to a mere act of justice.

In the will of Henry Smith, of Silver-street, London, bearing the date of April 24, 8d of Charles I., 1627, is this bequest:—"I give and bequeath, for the use of the poor captives, being slaves under the Turkish pirates, the sum of one thousand pounds, which sum of one thousand pounds my will and meaning is, shall be laid forth, and bestowed in the purchase of lands of inheritance, to the value of threescore pounds per annum at the least, the rents and profits whereof shall be yearly paid, and distributed unto such person and persons, as from time to time shall be appointed and intrusted, for the collection of the charity of well-disposed persons, with the intent that the same, my gift, shall continue in perpetuity; and shall be paid and delivered at the direction of my said executors, and their heirs, and of the survivors of them; and of the Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of the City of London for the time being, for and towards the relief and ransom of the said poor captives and slaves."

The unclaimed rents of the lands, purchased according to the provisions of this bequest, and applicable to this charitable trust, and the dividends as they were received, being again added to the principal, accumulated till the stock amounted, in 1772, to 9168l. 15s. The further accumulation, which would by this time have reached an enormous sum, was, in 1773, stopp'd by an Act of Parliament, which provided, that the rents and the dividends upon the accumulated stock should be divided amongst the poor relations of the donor, in every year, in which no application should be made to redeem captives. But so

entirely provisional is this new application of the money consider'd, that by the Act there is always kept in hand nearly one whole year's income to answer the claims of captives, in case any should be made; and it is only on none being made before each 5th of April, that the whole is then divided amongst the poor relatives.

Parliament having already interposed to totally change the application of this charitable trust, it can hardly be thought unreasonable, that it should again interfere merely to regulate it, so as to secure a compliance with the obvious *spirit* of the testator's intentions. At the same time, I am aware, that by the wording of the will the money is not at present legally applicable to what I would suggest, the redemption of the Sciote and Cypriot women recently enslaved by the Turks. It has been already decided that the will does not intend, by Turkish pirates, the Barbary corsairs, who being still nominally, and at the period of the bequest, actually under the dominion of the Sultan, might be so construed; for, during the long period between the 3d of Charles the First and our modern exemption from the rapine of the Barbary powers, it never was applied in that way. The difficulty is, *legally* to consider the Turkish national fleets as pirates, for I apprehend no one will deny that they are *morally* no better, if not infinitely worse. Our recent conduct towards the Barbary States shews, that a government may, like an individual, be treated as a pirate; and when we consider that the Sciots had *not* rebelled, that Scio had actually been bombarded by the Samians for refusing to join in their revolt; that they voluntarily gave information and hostages to the Turks; that, in fact, they were guilty of nothing but helplessness and wealth; that under these circumstances, out of 120,000 inhabitants, only 300 remain; the men having been murdered, and the women and children enslaved, with the exception of a few who

escaped, I do not think it is an abuse of language to call such an expedition piratical. One of the best reforms which has of late years been introduced by the House of Commons, is the provision for carrying into effect the real meaning of Charitable Trusts, and for no longer letting a man's recorded words be made a posthumous weapon for defeating his acknowledged intentions. If this application of the money should be legalized, the accumulated stock 9,159*l.* 15*s.*, and 1,492*l.* standing in the name of the Accountant-General, worth together, at the present price of Consols, about 9,596*l.*, might be immediately devoted to redeem these unfortunates.

The rents in 1820 amounted to 767*l.* 5*s.*, of which only one-half is applicable to the relief of slaves under the Turks, the other half being left by will to the family of the testator. Five long leases have fallen in since 1820, when their joint rents amounted to 351*l.*, and some building-leases are likely to drop in a few years, so that the property may perhaps augment in value. Half of these rents might be, at all events, annually employed for the same purpose as the accumulated dividends. The relations are already provided for by the will, and have now enjoyed, by the indulgence of Parliament, the rents and interest of the Captive Fund for just half a century. A sum of this magnitude to start with would at least remove the hackneyed objection to trifling subscriptions—what will so small a sum do? And as I cannot believe that the English public will persist in refusing the Greek patriots that pecuniary aid, which they showered on spots where it was far less wanted, it would form a sort of nucleus for a subscription.

(31) "The *Turks* have not been an inundation that at last subsides, and fertilizes what it had overwhelmed, but a fiery torrent that devours wherever it settles. *They* have never

redeemed conquest by a Roman spirit of civilization, and the Greeks have never lost that right to rebel, which no power can abrogate, no compact annul, and no sophistry weaken; which neither the oppressor can destroy, nor the oppressed renounce, and which no length of submission can render obsolete, while Nature's own law declares "*nullum tempus libertati occurrit.*"

I have not alluded to ancient Greece, because,—"Liberty in excess is poisonous, not healthful; and we must not confound splendour with happiness. Ancient Greece was fertile in great characters, for they ever swarm in times of turbulence and guilt. When we look through a vista of two thousand years upon events long past, the horizon may seem to beam with softened splendour; but could we retrograde to that period, we should rather writhe beneath intense heat, than gaze on the brilliant light.

The convulsions, which give history half its beauty and animation, shed misery on the life of man, and it is better to be a reader of Athenian history than a citizen of Athens.

The French Revolution is the only parallel to the wild and guilty career of all the Greek Republics; but the one was the paroxysm of a transient fever, the other a constitutional disease; the one the delirium of a moment, the other the perverted feelings of an entire life.

Do we wish to see revived the social institutions of Lycurgus? To see a legislator struggling to make man joyless and illiterate? To see life stripped of all its innocent enjoyments, and every power of the mind destroyed by a moral suicide?

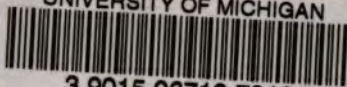
It is not desirable to revive the institutions of ancient Greece; it is not even practicable. In order to qualify the mass of citizens by leisure and education to be their own governors, we must revive in its fullest extent the system of domestic slavery."

(82) "If any one here can be severe on their foibles, when he gazes every day on the radiant intellect, the various but concentrated beams, that shine from every page of their fathers; when he hears every day that musical language which blends sweetness with variety of sound, exuberance with brevity, and comprehensiveness with precision; I implore him by all their fathers have taught us, by the wrongs of ages, and the sufferings of millions, by the sickness of hope deferred or disappointed still, to *pity* rather than *condemn*: may I not amidst the splendour of worship around me, invoke even the name of Him, whose temples have been overthrown, whose votaries have been slaughtered? May I not, in the very sanctuary of prayer, pray that the God of mercy may soon pity the wretched, the God of justice deliver the oppressed?"

To explain the allusions in this passage, I must add that it was part of a declamation, spoken in the October term of 1816, in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge. All the under-graduates in succession "declaim" in pairs, on the opposite sides of a subject which is left to their choice. I am not silly enough to rest my argument on a declamation, necessarily rhetorical and exaggerated. But I was perplexed with all the papers that have subsided at length into this little pamphlet, like the massive materials that melt into a pint of scientific soup, or the gigantic geni, who wound himself in wreaths of smoke into a bottle; and I was glad to use materials ready hewn to my hand, at the risk of their looking like old rubbish to fill chinks. Fearfully are they altered by these naked lines of pica, from what they looked in the sheltering drapery of pothooks, though I have not spared the Procrustean barbarity of curtail-
ing these children of my youth.

Arguments should, like vines, be stript of their foliage, till they are all stalk and fruit, and a pamphlet especially must be a knotted stumpy crab cudgel, so I do not pretend

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